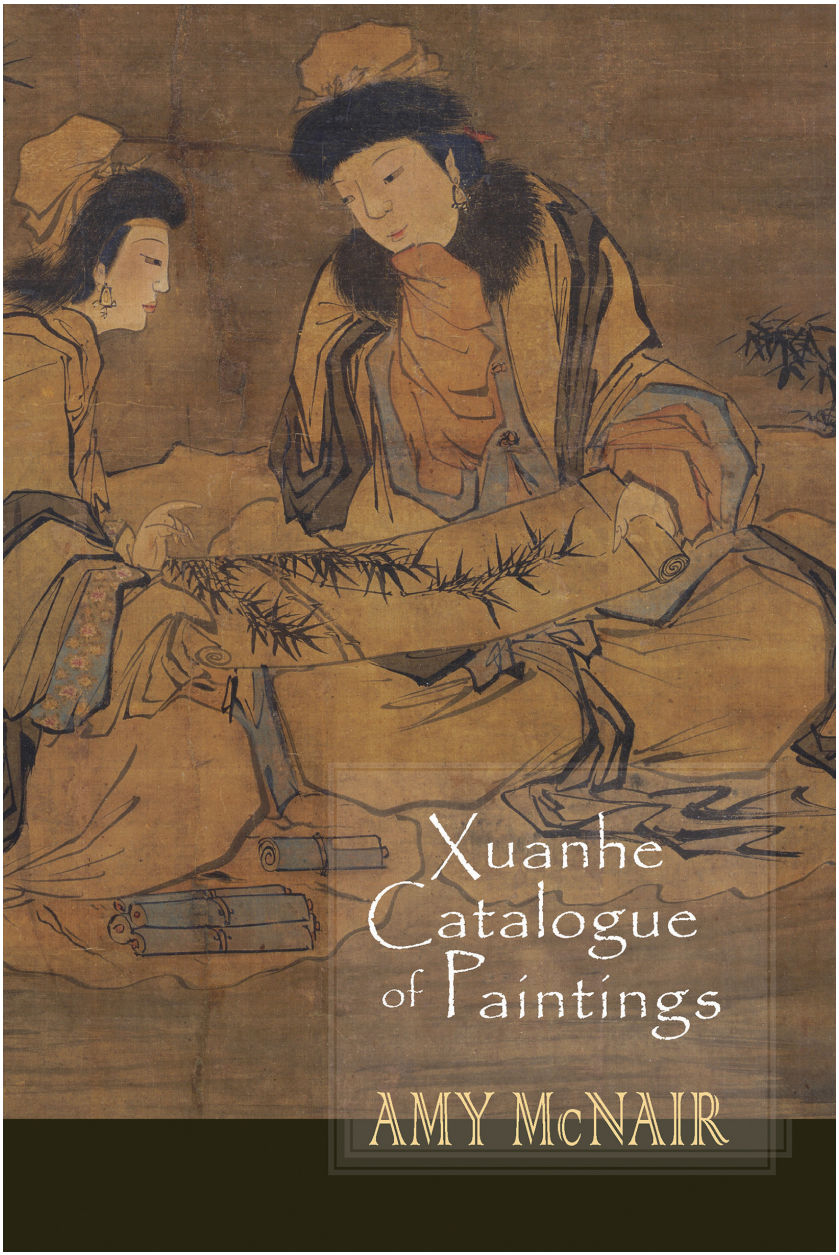

# Xuanhe Catalogue of Paintings

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*An Annotated Translation with Introduction by*

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# Acknowledgments

It was Alan Berkowitz's idea to edit a series of translations of what he called "categorized biographies," and this translation of *Xuanhe huapu* was to stand as a representative compilation on Chinese painters. I am sorry that Alan did not live to see it. I was able to consider participating in his project only because of the previous work of two Chinese scholars who rendered *Xuanhe huapu* into modern Chinese: Yu Jianhua (1895–1979) and Yue Ren. I owe equal gratitude to the great English-language translators who worked on the principal texts upon which *Xuanhe Catalogue of Paintings* relied. The earliest is William R.B. Acker (1907–1974), whose translation of Zhang Yanyuan's *Lidai minghua ji* of around 847 was a foundational resource when I was an undergraduate. The second is Alexander Soper (1904–1993), who translated both Guo Ruoxu's *Tuhua jianwen zhi* and Zhu Jingxuan's *Tangchao minghua lu*. I was never Mr. Soper's student, but I hoped to be a scholar and translator in his mode, which is to say with great attention to detail and accuracy to the original. That he was able to make these contributions before the age of the computer is all the more extraordinary. I have known Charles Lachman for nearly thirty years, and I admired his superb translation of *Songchao minghua ping* before I met him. The last translator to whom I owe a debt of gratitude is Ankeney Weitz. It was wonderful to work with her again. The first time, in 1992, I arrived at the University of Kansas just in time to join her dissertation committee and help with her translation of the collection records of Zhou Mi (1232–1308), which was ultimately published as *Zhou Mi's Record of Clouds and Mist Passing Before One's Eyes*. My contribution was chiefly about the works of calligraphy, as I recall. Not only did I learn a great deal in working with her on her

dissertation, but my current project has also profited considerably from her book. I am most grateful, however, that she agreed to review this manuscript. She went over my draft translation with great care and gave me numerous substantial suggestions for improvement. Any remaining errors, of course, are my own.

My students at the University of Kansas, past and present, have helped me in many supportive ways. Walter Davis hand-carried a copy of Xie Wei's monumental survey of texts on Chinese painting back from China to give to me, which sparked my research on the structure of the text. Michelle C. Wang invited me to Georgetown to talk about my work, which is where I met Carma Hinton, whose conversations helped me with painting titles. My current doctoral student Weitian Yan assisted with research on biographical sources.

Lastly, I am thankful to the anonymous reader for the Cornell East Asia Series, who had many good suggestions for the Introduction. Many thanks also to Mai Shaikhanuar-Cota for her encouragement and professionalism, to Chris Ahn for copyediting, and to Sheryl Rowe for the meticulous layout. I gratefully acknowledge two funding agencies for awarding me one-year research fellowships and grants: the National Endowment for the Humanities (2006–2007) and the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange (2011–2012). Thanks to the generous research-support policies of the University of Kansas, I was given funded research leave for those years. Altogether, these institutions provided what a project like this most needs—that precious commodity: time.

# Introduction

I began this translation in 2005, inspired by a conversation with the late Alan Berkowitz (1950–2015). Among the multitude of intellectual and cultural interests he pursued was the history and function of categorized biographies, or "accounts of individuals whose lives reflect particular sectors of endeavor."[1] Alan asked me if there were any such texts in the field of Chinese art history that had not been translated. When I told him about the biographies of painters in *Xuanhe Catalogue of Paintings* (*Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜), he suggested I translate it.

This anonymous book calls itself simply *Huapu,* or "Catalogue of Paintings," but the name evolved to *Xuanhe huapu,* or "Catalogue of Paintings in the Xuanhe Era," after the fall of the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127). The Xuanhe era was the final reign-period of Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–1125) and the book was completed in 1120, the second year of the Xuanhe era. Its Preface describes it as recording 6,396 paintings currently held in the palace storehouses. The painting titles are listed under biographical entries for the artists responsible for them. There are 231 artist biographies, grouped under categories of subject matter. These are "Daoist and Buddhist Subjects," "Figural Subjects," "Architecture," "Barbarian Tribes," "Dragons and Fish," "Landscape," "Domestic and Wild Animals," "Flowers and Birds," "Ink Bamboo," and "Vegetables and Fruit." Following the Preface is an Explanation of the Categories, which offers a philosophical basis for all of them, while each subject-matter category also has its own individual Prefatory Explanation.

Portions of *Xuanhe Catalogue of Paintings* have already been translated. The ten Prefatory Explanations for the subject-matter categories were rendered into English by Richard Barnhart and published in Susan Bush

and Hsio-Yen Shih's classic anthology, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting*.[2] Some of the biographies were translated by Patricia Ebrey in her magisterial work called *Accumulating Culture: The Collections of Emperor Huizong*.[3] Selections from various biographies are in books and articles that treat individual artists who are profiled in the *Catalogue;* some recent notable examples are Robert E. Harrist, Jr., *Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-Century China: Mountain Villa by Li Gonglin;* Hui-shu Lee, *Empresses, Art, & Agency in Song Dynasty China;* and Foong Ping, *The Efficacious Landscape: On the Authorities of Painting at the Northern Song Court*. Individual titles from among the pictures listed in the *Catalogue* have been translated in various studies, such as Ankeney Weitz's translation of the collection records of Zhou Mi (1232–1308), *Zhou Mi's Record of Clouds and Mist Passing Before One's Eyes*. Still, there was no complete translation.

One thing I learned from my work on the patronage of the Buddhist cave-shrines at Longmen Grottoes is that the relationships between various donors were a significant factor in understanding what they sponsored individually.[4] Earlier scholarship that considered single grottoes in isolation failed to grasp the fuller implications because it did not consider informative connections with other projects by related donors. Similarly, only a complete translation of the *Catalogue* shows the interconnections between the prefatory explanations, the biographies, and the lists of paintings that reveal a fuller sense of the work as a whole.

## THE BIOGRAPHIES

After I had translated all the biographies, I saw there were three types, in terms of the sources employed by the author(s). One type—the majority—could be characterized as a bricolage of information selected and paraphrased (and occasionally garbled) primarily from five important earlier texts on painters. The earliest two source-texts are *Lidai minghua ji* (*Record of Famous Painters through the Dynasties*) and *Tangchao minghua lu* (*Record of Famous Painters of the Tang Dynasty*), both completed in the mid-ninth century. These were translated into English by William R.B. Acker (1907–1974) and Alexander Soper (1904–1993), respectively.[5] *Yizhou minghua lu* (*Record of Famous Painters of Yizhou*), which has a preface dated to 1006, treats artists from Sichuan.[6] *Songchao minghua ping* (*Evaluations of Famous Painters of the Song Dynasty*) was written around 1059, and *Tuhua jianwen zhi* (*Treatise on Pictures I Have Seen and Heard*

*About*) was completed around 1080. Charles Lachman translated the first and Alexander Soper, the second.[7] There are modern Chinese annotated editions of all five.[8] Since these works are extant, it is easy to compare the entries in the *Catalogue* to their original sources. The second type of biography was fabricated from whole cloth, using the titles of paintings listed for the artist as the basis for an educated guess about his subject specialization and style. The third type was based on sources that are no longer available. These biographies are mostly of people at the Song court, including fourteen court eunuch officials, many of whom were living at the time the *Catalogue* was written, and sixteen royal family members, most of whom were deceased. These biographies constitute a unique contribution to the history of Chinese art because they profile many people of the inner court who are otherwise unknown.

Over the course of this translation project, certain preconceived notions I had about this text dissolved. Before I began, I believed the narratives would represent the point of view of Emperor Huizong and the *Catalogue* would contain an expression of his aesthetic taste, or even his voice. By the time I finished translating the last chapter, however, the only trace of Emperor Huizong I found were the three anecdotes in which he figures. The vantage point of these reports is that of an inner-court servant in private areas of palace buildings. The emperor never utters direct speech. In 1101, the eunuch official Yang Riyan was ordered, apparently by the emperor, to paint a portrait of the late empress, his mother, because the staff painters could not capture her likeness. In 1109, he ordered the eunuch official Jia Xiang to paint dragons on screens in Preserving Harmony Hall because what the staff painters had produced did not meet with Jia's approval; and for a ceremony in 1119, the emperor was attended by his cousin Zhao Xiaoying (b. ca. 1084–1085), whom he had given one of his paintings in exchange for some by Xiaoying. These three anecdotes give no sense of the emperor's taste in art, nor do they have anything to do with the kind of art-collecting engaged in by Northern Song connoisseurs such as Mi Fu (1052–1107)—that is, acquiring old pictures from other people's collections by purchase or trade. Instead, all three stories involve the making of pictures by eunuch officials and royal family members.

I also thought the lists of paintings in the *Catalogue* represented a vast collection of artworks brought into the palace during Emperor Huizong's reign. Yet the *Catalogue* also makes clear that thousands of pictures were already in the palace collection well before 1120, as a result of conquest, confiscation, purchase, gifts, and the production of court and academy artists. Further, it never describes how any single picture came into the palace collection, other than being made on imperial order, and it

contains no reference to a great painting-collecting project on the part of Emperor Huizong. Indeed, certain antique paintings that Song-dynasty memoirists say were received by the emperor are not found in the *Catalogue*. I discuss the example of Zhan Ziqian's *Transport by Water* below.

## THE LISTS OF PAINTINGS

Following each artist's biography is a list of titles of paintings "kept in the palace storehouses." Although I began my translation project with a focus on the biographies, I now feel that the lists of painting titles are just as important and interesting, if not more so. No one has made any particular study of them, to my knowledge.[9] It is not clear what relationship the *Catalogue* had to the palace's painting collection, although it is certainly not a complete record of the collection, since the text states outright that several artists have been "excluded." Further, there are no anonymous paintings in the *Catalogue,* though we know from contemporaneous records that anonymous paintings entered the palace in Emperor Huizong's day.[10] Even though the *Catalogue* presents itself as if it were a snapshot of the best of the collection on a summer's day in 1120, there is considerable information in it to demonstrate layers of acquisition from 960 until then. In my view, an analysis of the lists of paintings can provide a sense of how and when many works were received in the palace and how they were entered into the *Catalogue,* keeping in mind that these were two different processes. I will identify different types of lists and suggest what they tell about the formation of the collection and the composition of the *Catalogue*.

The key factor is that the order of the titles in the lists follows the order of the subjects in the *Catalogue*. In other words, for almost all the artists, his or her paintings are organized so that titles that would be classified under "Daoist and Buddhist Subjects" are given first, followed by those that would fall under "Figural Subjects," "Architecture," "Barbarian Tribes," "Dragons and Fish," "Landscape," "Domestic and Wild Animals," "Flowers and Birds," "Ink Bamboo," and "Vegetables and Fruit." Obviously, many artists produced pictures in only two or three categories, yet the subject-matter order still determines the list. For example, the tenth-century artist Wei Xian was famous for his architectural paintings, and his biography is in the section on "Architecture," in chapter 8. Nonetheless, his list begins with several figure paintings because "Figural

Subjects" precedes "Architecture." Further, in certain categories, there is a sub-order. Within "Landscape" and "Flowers and Birds," the titles are ordered by season, beginning with spring prospects or blossoms and ending with wintry scenes or plants under snow.

The use of the subject-matter order in the painting titles reveals that the *Catalogue* was based on a prior catalogue, now lost.[11] It is noticeable that for about three dozen major artists, their lists begin over again toward the end, with a secondary sub-list, which starts the order of the subject-matter categories over. I consider this evidence that the first list was copied from the old catalogue, while the secondary list was composed for the current *Catalogue*. Such two-part lists indicate two different processes of collecting and cataloguing. In certain lists, it means some works were collected or produced before 1100 and others after 1100. The works in both parts of the list are consonant with the artist's known specializations and career. I discuss the lists for Wu Yuanyu and Li Gonglin as examples below. Other two-part lists, however, conclude with a secondary list that contains what are evidently reattributions of anonymous works or works done by minor artists. These reattributions are obvious because of their implausibility. They may have been made by Huizong's grand councilor Cai Jing (1047–1126), his intimate eunuch official Liang Shicheng (ca. 1063–1126), or others.[12] Anonymous pictures have less value, so there was pressure to identify an artist. The *Catalogue* reveals this anxious need for attribution in its discussion of the connoisseurship activities of the eunuch official Liu Yuan in chapter 12: "When anyone, in the inner court or the outer court, had an anonymous painting, they invariably asked Yuan for his judgment. Though Yuan would never dare to attribute it, his discussions always contained some evidence." A typical example of improbable reattributions is in the list for the Tang-dynasty official Zhang Zao, who was known for his paintings of pine trees and rocks. He is classified under "Landscape," and his list leads off with two pictures of pines and forests. The third title, however, is a Daoist icon of Lord Lao, while the fourth depicts Buddhist monks. Since "Daoist and Buddhist Subjects" is the first category, preceding "Landscape," these latter two pictures begin a secondary sub-list. In my view, this indicates that the two pictures of pines and forests were already in the palace before 1100, and they were listed under Zhang's name in the old catalogue, from which the scriveners of the *Catalogue* copied. The religious figures, a subject for which Zhang was never known, were reattributed to him during Huizong's reign. When the *Catalogue* was compiled, the newly attributed titles were tacked on to the end of the list copied from the old catalogue. While there are those who think the present *Catalogue* resulted from an original cataloging project, I believe

that it was produced as an updated amplification of the earlier text. In my view, such a process is consistent with the culture of book production in traditional China.

For other artists, their lists have a unitary structure, indicating one of two possible histories. Either all their paintings were in the palace collection before 1100 and were entered into the old catalogue in subject-matter order, whence they were copied into the new *Catalogue,* or they all came into the collection after 1100 and were entered into the new *Catalogue* for the first time. The list for the tenth-century artist Xu Xi, discussed below, is a clear example of the former. A good example of the latter is the list for the eunuch official Feng Jin, who was living at the time the *Catalogue* was written. His thirteen works are all landscapes, and they are in seasonal order, beginning with *Lingering Rain, Spring Daybreak,* and concluding with *Clearing after Snow on Clustered Peaks.*

## THE SONG PALACE COLLECTION BEFORE 1100

Memoirists such as Cai Tao (d. after 1147) who wrote about Huizong's period of rule describe large numbers of artworks acquired by the throne, although some of these tales are questionable, such as the story about the eunuch official Tong Guan (1054–1126) collecting pictures for the emperor.[13] Cai's statement that over a thousand artworks were brought into the palace during Huizong's reign is probably relatively accurate, however.[14] Although no inventory of the collection from earlier in the dynasty survives, still it is possible to infer what was there before the twelfth century through a comparison of external historical information with the contents of the *Catalogue.* Artworks arrived by several avenues, including conquest, confiscation, and purchase and collecting by earlier emperors, particularly Emperor Taizong (r. 976–997). Another substantial source for pictures in the palace collection was the production of Song artists at court, both academy artists and regular officials who painted. Yet another was the gift culture surrounding the throne. Based on my analysis of the lists of paintings, these sources are responsible for about four-fifths of the works in the *Catalogue.* This would be about 5,000 of the 6,396 pictures listed in the *Catalogue,* which generally agrees with Cai Tao's statement.

### Conquest

In the entry for the tenth-century bird-and-flower painter Xu Xi in chapter 17, the *Catalogue* says, "When the Jiangnan pretender Li Yu first submitted, all of Xi's paintings that he had collected went into the state treasury." Li Yu (937–978), the last ruler of the Southern Tang state, submitted to the Song dynasty in 975. As I read the list of paintings by Xu Xi in the *Catalogue,* all 249 of his bird-and-flower pictures are in correct seasonal order, from flowering fruit trees of spring, to fragrant grasses of autumn, and bamboo and wrens in snow. Another indication these pictures had come with Li Yu is the presence of five paintings called *Flowers to Deck Out a Hall.* Guo Ruoxu (ca. 1041–ca. 1098) told how a large painting of this name, with rocks, plants, birds, and insects, which Li Yu hung in his palace, was painted by Xu Xi and his workshop.[15] In Xu Xi's list in the *Catalogue* are five scrolls called *Flowers to Deck Out a Hall: Peach Blossom; Flowers to Deck Out a Hall: Flowering Crabapple; Flowers to Deck Out a Hall: Azaleas* (there are two scrolls for this title); and *Flowers to Deck Out a Hall: Cut-branch Flowers.* These are likely some of the panels of the original "large painting."

Li Yu also submitted the rest of his collections, as well as bringing with him some of his court artists, such as Dong Yu, who became a Scholar of Art in the Song-dynasty Painting Academy, and the Buddhist monk Juran, who painted murals for court buildings such as the Jade Hall.[16] For Dong Yu, his list contains thirteen dragon-paintings and one picture depicting a fisherman on the river. As pictures of fishermen at work are normally classed as "Landscape" in the *Catalogue,* these pictures are in subject-matter order, since "Landscape" follows "Dragons and Fish." The 136 pictures under Juran's name are landscapes in seasonal order, from *Mountain Dwelling in Summer* to *Wintry Forest,* followed by titles with no seasonal reference. Hence, my interpretation of these three lists is that all 399 of the works by Xu Xi, Dong Yu, and Juran were held in the palace since the earliest days of Song. Other Southern Tang court artists whose works appear in the *Catalogue* include the figure painters Cao Zhongyuan, Zhou Wenju, and Gu Hongzhong; the architecture painter Wei Xian; the bird-and-flower painters Qiu Qingyu and Tang Xiya; and the landscapists Zhao Gan and Dong Yuan. Additionally, Li Yu surrendered the old pictures that were stored in his Courtesy to the Worthy Hall (Lixian yuan), where the Southern Tang rulers kept paintings, calligraphy, and books from the Tang dynasty (618–907).[17] For instance, the painting *Casting Mirrors,* listed in chapter 7 under the figure painter Tang Zisheng, had belonged to Li Yu.[18] There are also pictures in the *Catalogue* by Li Yu himself, as well as his relatives Li Jingdao and Li Jingyou. In all, the *Catalogue* shows that about 729 paintings from Southern Tang were in the collection before the twelfth century.

Meng Chang (r. 934–965), the ruler of the Later Shu kingdom, surrendered to the Song in 965, bringing with him his family, his officials, and his art collections. His court painters came along, too, including the great master Huang Quan (903–968), the figure painter Fang Congzhen, and the religious muralist Shi Ke, who painted murals at Xiangguo Monastery for the Song court. Huang Quan's son Huang Jucai became a Hanlin Painter-in-Attendance at the court of Emperor Taizu (r. 960–976). The lists for Huang Quan and Huang Jucai suggest collecting before and after 1100. Huang Quan's list has 349 pictures. The first 259 are bird-and-flower paintings, in seasonal order. Then his list starts over with religious pictures, figure paintings, landscapes, and many more bird-and-flower pictures, for an additional ninety pictures. Huang Jucai's list of 332 works also begins with 301 bird-and-flower compositions, arranged from spring to winter, after which it begins over again with religious pictures and more bird-and-flower paintings, again in seasonal order. The 301 bird-and-flower pictures probably entered the palace in the tenth century, or were at least there when the old catalogue was written, sometime before 1100. The other thirty-one were added sometime between 1100 and 1120. By my estimation, 560 pictures by Huang Quan and Huang Jucai were in the Song collection before Huizong's reign, with 122 pictures either added to the collection by acquisition or added to the *Catalogue* by reattribution during Huizong's reign. In other words, about four-fifths of their pictures were in the collection before Huizong came to the throne.

## Confiscation and Purchase

Ding Wei (966–1037) was a high official who collected calligraphy and pictures, and many were confiscated with the rest of his property when he was demoted. Guo Ruoxu described Ding's collection thus: "The collection of calligraphy and paintings made by Ding, Duke of Jin, was an extremely rich one. At the time of his 'transfer to the South,' an inventory was made of what he owned; there were more than ninety scrolls of landscapes with wintry forests by Li Cheng, and the others were all of like quality. Afterward all were turned over to the palace storehouse."[19] Based on this information, we might expect to see ninety paintings of *Wintry Forests* in the *Catalogue*. As it happens, there are two separate groups of *Wintry Forests* pictures in Li Cheng's list. The first includes *Wintry Forests in Sunlight* (three pictures), *Wintry Forests* (eight pictures), *Solitary Enjoyment in Wintry Forests* (one picture), *Strange Rocks in Wintry Forests* (two pictures), and *Large Rocks in Wintry Forests* (four pictures). This group may represent some of the pictures confiscated from Ding Wei, yet

the total is eighteen, not the ninety mentioned by Guo Ruoxu. A further complication comes from a story told by Mi Fu. Dowager Empress Cao (1016–1079) bought all the Li Cheng pictures that were available because she wanted to please the emperor. Li's granddaughter was called to the palace to authenticate these paintings, but she identified only four as genuine.[20] Is the group of eighteen a portion of the pictures confiscated from Ding Wei or the paintings purchased by the empress? Following the first group of *Wintry Forests* pictures are about sixty paintings with nonseasonal titles and then a second group of six *Wintry Forests* pictures appears, four large and two small. Since they are listed together, I assume they came into the collection together. Are these the purchased pictures that Li Cheng's granddaughter identified? The mid-eleventh-century passion for Li Cheng does not appear to have abated in the twelfth century. The *Catalogue* extols him as "the best of ancient and modern times" in landscape, and the presence of five pictures of mountains in spring at the end of his list indicates pictures were added to the collection during Emperor Huizong's reign.

## Early Song Imperial Collecting

The Song rulers were interested in collecting books and art from the beginning, and many people, from officials to wealthy merchants, reckoned they could gain some kind of favor or reward for submitting them. For example, Huang Xiufu reported that the governor whom the Song sent to Shu just after the surrender of the Later Shu state was an avid collector of old paintings and books. He searched for them continually, and what he found was sent to the capital.[21] The set of ten *Perfected Ones,* listed under the name of Zhang Suqing in chapter 2, would appear to be part of an original set of twelve that the governor submitted. While Southern Tang and Later Shu submitted their collections under the reign of Emperor Taizu, Emperor Taizong solicited donations and sought more acquisitions from individuals. Liu Daochun described an episode in which the Kaifeng restaurant-owner Sun Sihao, whose daughter was a concubine of Emperor Taizong, made a gift of a painting by Gao Yi, his resident painter.[22] Guo Ruoxu noted that the son of the great art collector and high official Wang Pu (922–982) sent fifteen works of art to Emperor Taizong, half of which were kept.[23] Guo also reported that Emperor Taizong issued an edict to officials throughout the realm to find and send in calligraphy and painting, and he also authorized his court painters Gao Wenjin and Huang Jucai to acquire pictures.[24] He instructed Su Yijian (957–995), the Grand Councilor and art collector, to travel to Nanjing to

acquire paintings and calligraphy by famous old masters. Su obtained over a thousand scrolls, which he presented to the throne.[25] The emperor had even started acquiring pictures before he ascended the throne. The *Sixteen Luohans* listed under the name of Wang Qihan in chapter 4 may well be the same pictures that were brought before him in a legal dispute when he was a prince in charge of the capital, which he settled by keeping the pictures and recompensing both parties.

## Song-dynasty Academy Artists

No academy artists from Huizong's time are treated in the *Catalogue,* and those who served earlier Song emperors are few and mostly grudgingly chosen. Some academy artists are not even acknowledged as such, and landscape painters are only reluctantly included. Goulong Shuang and Gao Keming served Emperor Taizong, while Chen Yongzhi and Qu Ding served Emperor Renzong. Goulong and Chen each have only one painting listed, Qu has a mere three, and Gao is credited with just ten pictures. Guo Xi (after 1000–ca. 1090) worked for Emperor Shenzong (r. 1067–1085), who greatly admired his paintings and had the walls of Sagacious Contemplation Hall hung with them. Guo's work, however, was famously disliked by Emperor Huizong, who stripped the hall of the pictures and gave many away. Hence the thirty paintings under his name undoubtedly had been in the collection since the 1070s.[26]

Court bird-and-flower painters fared better, with over five hundred paintings listed. Yi Yuanji was called to court by Emperor Yingzong (r. 1063–1067), while Cui Bai and his brother Cui Que served Emperor Shenzong. The entry for Yi lists 245 paintings in seasonal order, while for Cui Que there are 67 paintings, also in perfect seasonal order, suggesting that no pictures by either were acquired during Huizong's reign. The list for Cui Bai tells a different story. Following 222 bird-and-flower pictures in seasonal order, there are nine Buddhist icons and six figure paintings. These figural pictures would have been acquired or reattributed to Cui Bai during Huizong's reign.

## Song-dynasty Officials Who Painted at Court

Another category of artists who produced works for the court is civil officials. Yan Su (961–1040) rose to a high position under Emperor Renzong, and thirty-seven works are listed under his name, in chapter 11

of "Landscape." They are in perfect order, by season, starting with a *Fisherman's Song in Spring Hills* and concluding with *Wintry Sparrows.* This suggests none were added to the palace collection during Emperor Huizong's reign. The brothers Song Dao (1013–1083) and Song Di (ca. 1015–ca.1080) are in chapter 12, under "Landscape." Unusually, even though both men held several high government positions later in their lives, they are identified in the *Catalogue* simply as Assistant in the Palace Library, their earliest post. This is notable because the *Catalogue* often cites the highest position reached by a deceased official. This suggests that all the pictures listed for the two brothers were done for the court during their time in the capital just after they had gained fame for doing well in the examinations and were starting out at the library. Thanks to Alfreda Murck's brilliant work, we are accustomed to thinking of Song Di as a literati-amateur painter who used landscape as a vehicle for political protest after his demotion in the 1070s, not as an official who painted at court in his youth.[27] Later in life, in exile in Luoyang, he was part of the coterie around Sima Guang (1019–1086), a leader of the "Yuanyou party" who opposed the reforms of Wang Anshi (1021–1086). Murck has demonstrated that Song's theme of the "Eight Views of Xiaoxiang" used couplets by Du Fu to comment on contemporaneous governance. Among Song Di's thirty-one landscapes are a *Xiaoxiang, Autumn Evening,* and an *Eight Views.* Since they are not out of seasonal order, and the writers of the *Catalogue* seem to know nothing of Song Di's later career, I can only conclude that the later interpretation of this theme was not understood at the start of Song Di's career. The scriveners of the *Catalogue* simply copied these titles from the old catalogue without comprehension. One can scarcely imagine Emperor Huizong intentionally acquiring pictures critical of his father's reign.

## Royal Gift Culture

Many works were produced and given to rulers by royal family members and intimate eunuch court officials. Simple subjects predominate, such as ink bamboo or bird-and-flower. Twenty-four pictures by Zhao Lingrang (act. ca. 1070–d. ca. 1101) are listed in the *Catalogue.* They are in subject order, so, given that he died around the commencement of Huizong's reign, his works were more likely presented to emperors Shenzong and Zhezong. Lingrang's biography tells of a gift exchange with Emperor Zhezong: "Once, at the Dragon Boat Festival, he presented a fan he had painted, and Emperor Zhezong wrote on the back of it: 'We have seen this, and the brushwork is marvelous.' He then wrote

out the two characters for 'National Eminence' and gave them to him, which was considered an honor at the time." It was probably a similar situation with the other family members entered in chapter 20, such as Zhao Jun (1056–1088) and Li Wei (b. ca. 1038), who are clearly described as deceased. For other family members, though, it is difficult to say when their works entered the palace.

The eunuch official Yue Shixuan (act. ca. 1068–1093+), profiled in chapter 19, served emperors Shenzong and Zhezong. His list contains forty-one works. He appears to have been self-taught, and the authors say he took Ai Xuan, the academy painter who worked for Emperor Shenzong, as his model. Yue was not a court painter, however, but an amateur, who gave his pictures to the man he served. His biography says, "Several times he submitted his paintings to the throne, and these were truly the best art objects to come out of the Palace Domestic Service."

## Artists at Court before 1100, Whose Works Were Subsequently Collected

### *Wu Yuanyu*

A list that clearly shows a temporal division between an original list and a secondary list is under the name of Wu Yuanyu (d. after 1112) in chapter 19. According to his biographical entry in the *Catalogue,* Wu joined the painting academy as a bird-and-flower painter and studied with the court painter Cui Bai, which must have been sometime during Cui's tenure at court in the 1070s.[28] Wu then worked as a painter-in-residence at the establishment of Zhao Hao (1050–1096), the brother of Emperor Shenzong and uncle of emperors Zhezong and Huizong.[29] Cai Tao remembered that Wu had been invited to live at Emperor Huizong's mansion when he was still Prince Duan, so perhaps Wu went there sometime between 1096 and 1100, although the *Catalogue* does not mention it. It does say that Wu later entered the palace with the post of Palace Duty Officer of the Right, which was a rank-5 eunuch position. In 1112 or thereafter, he was appointed to the post of Grand Master of Military Merit, which Charles Hucker describes as the new name for Capital Security Commissioner, "who was the head of a secret service agency for the emperor."[30] The transfer of eunuch officials from the palace to princely establishments and back again was not unusual.

Wu Yuanyu is credited with 189 paintings, among which is a picture whose genesis is described by the authors of the *Catalogue*. They tell the story of how Zhao Hao sent Wu on a special journey to make a copy of an

icon depicting a Daoist immortal called Xu Shenweng. This is a rare case where the authors give information on when and where a particular picture was made. It also helps to understand how much of Wu's list in the *Catalogue* was in the collection before 1100 and how much was acquired under Huizong's reign. Where the copy of the icon of Xu Shenweng appears in the list of works under Wu's name is revealing. The first 115 paintings are bird-and-flower compositions in correct seasonal order. The next 34 paintings are mostly of different types of lychees and a few other bird-and-flower pictures that have no seasonal designation. These would likely have been done for the court when he was an academy painter, working under Cui Bai, and would have been produced and kept in the collection before Huizong took the throne. The last forty pictures, however, start the subject-matter order over again, beginning with eight Daoist and Buddhist titles, then a couple of landscapes with figures, three horse paintings, a dragon painting, and another handful of bird-and-flower pictures. In this secondary list is the copy of the icon of Xu Shenweng. Since this picture belonged to Zhao Hao, quite likely all the pictures in the secondary list had also been his. As such, this group of pictures probably remained with Zhao Hao until his death in 1096, and then passed to his son and successor, Zhao Kaoqian.[31] Although these paintings could have entered the palace soon after Hao's death, during the reign of Emperor Zhezong, it is more likely they were donated during a period when such a gift would have been appreciated and rewarded. Emperor Zhezong had no particular reputation as a lover of paintings, while Emperor Huizong was known as an avid and appreciative collector. If my assessment is accurate, then about four-fifths of Wu's paintings were produced and kept at court, probably in the 1070s and 1080s, while the remaining one-fifth were acquired sometime after 1096 as a donation from a family member.

### *Li Gonglin*

Li Gonglin (ca. 1041–1106) is another artist whose two-part list suggests court service as a painter before 1100, with other pictures given to the throne afterward. External evidence of his employment as a court artist is seen in the signature "your servitor" (*chen*) on his copy of a painting of horses by the Tang-dynasty artist Wei Yan, which bears four impressions of Emperor Huizong's seals.[32] From 1086 to around 1097, Li served in low-ranking posts in the court bureaucracy in Kaifeng.[33] I believe that of the 109 pictures listed under his name in chapter 7, the first eighty-two were produced for the court, under the reign of Emperor Zhezong, while the last twenty-seven entered the palace collection after

Li's death, during Huizong's reign. The first part of his list begins with twenty-nine Buddhist icons, followed by figure paintings, both his own and his copies of other artists' figure paintings. Following these are four pictures that seem to be bird-and-flower paintings. The next group comprises twenty-four pictures and copies of pictures of horses and figural narratives involving horses, such as *Zhaojun Passing the Frontier* and *Five Princes Returning Drunk.*

Li's list begins over again with six Daoist and Buddhist images. After that, in the final group of pictures, is a format rarely seen in other artists' lists: "tracing copies" (*mo* 摹).[34] There are five "tracing copies" of pictures from the Tang and Liao dynasties (907–1125). Notably, the original painting that was traced is also in the *Catalogue,* listed under the entry for that artist. Moreover, that original painting is at the end of the earlier artist's list. To give an example, under Li Gonglin's name there is a "Tracing Copy of *Seacoast* by Li Zhaodao of Tang." Li Zhaodao (ca. 675–741) is in chapter 10, under "Landscape." The last title in his list is *Seacoast.* As another example, Li Gonglin also did a "Tracing Copy of *Picking Melons* by Li Zhaodao of Tang." The next-to-last item in Li Zhaodao's list is *"Picking Melons."* I can envision a couple of scenarios that would result in this order. Perhaps the originals were in the palace collection and Li was asked to make tracing copies of them during his years as an official in Kaifeng. Perhaps, instead, Li owned the originals of these five paintings, from which he made tracing copies for himself, and then the originals and the tracing copies were donated to the throne after Li's death in 1106. It is worth noting that the authors of the *Catalogue* give over half their entry on Li Zhaodao to an explanation of the meaning of *Picking Melons,* suggesting it was of greater interest because it was a more recent acquisition. This would point to the second scenario. If the tracing copies and their originals were donated after Li Gonglin's death, this makes it more likely that the twenty-seven works in the secondary sub-list came into the collection after 1106. The eighty-two that had been in the palace since he made them in the late eleventh century were recorded in the old catalogue, and the twenty-seven works acquired under Huizong's reign were added to the new *Catalogue.* The originals were also acquired under Huizong's reign, which is why they appear at the end of their respective artist's list. Li's nephew, the official Zhang Cheng (b. ca. 1078–1085, d. ca. 1145), was probably close to Cai Jing, so he may have been the conduit for a donation of pictures owned and made by Li Gonglin.[35]

## Antique Pictures Acquired after 1100

Just as the subject-matter order in the lists of titles suggests that roughly four-fifths of the paintings in the *Catalogue* were already in the collection before Emperor Huizong took the throne, equally, they indicate that about one-fifth were acquired or reattributed during his time. Although there are no stories in the *Catalogue* about the emperor collecting paintings, in one case, we can identify a particular work of art acquired under his reign, found at the end of the list of titles given for the sixth-century painter Zhan Ziqian in chapter 1. Zhan's list begins with Daoist and Buddhist titles, followed by three figure-paintings and four horse-paintings. At the end, out of subject order, is a set of six figure-paintings called *Houzhu of Northern Qi Gracing Jinyang*. Although these pictures are now lost, they would likely have depicted Gao Wei, who ruled the Northern Qi dynasty from 565 to 576 and was given the posthumous title of Houzhu ("Last Ruler"). Perhaps he was shown entering his Jinyang Palace with an imperial entourage. Writing in 1167, Deng Chun (act. ca. 1127–1167) reported that during a visit of Emperor Huizong and his courtiers to the Palace Library in 1122, there was a viewing of copies of famous paintings made by the emperor, which were stored there. The particular item Deng cited as an example was the emperor's copy of *Wenxuan of Northern Qi Gracing the Jinyang Palace* by Zhan Ziqian. Likely this is a variation for the title recorded in Zhan's list in the *Catalogue*.[36] My sense is that the emperor copied these antique paintings not only because he admired the art of Zhan Ziqian but also because they had been acquired recently.

Three famous antique pieces may have come into the palace collection as a donation from the eunuch official Liu Yuan (act. before 1093–d. after 1112). His entry in chapter 12 lists nine works of the sort that amateurs could do with ink and a little color: intimate landscapes, bamboo and rocks. Yuan's adoptive father, the eunuch official Liu Youfang (act. ca. 1067–1077), was in charge of the Imperial Dispensary and served as an advisor on art matters to Emperor Shenzong.[37] Youfang was renowned as an art collector. Three works known to have been owned by Youfang are also found in the *Catalogue,* at the end of the lists for their respective artists, suggesting they were added after 1100. These are Gu Kaizhi's *Admonitions of the Court Instructress,*[38] Lu Hong's *Thatched Cottage,*[39] and *The Night Outing of Lady Guoguo* by Zhang Xuan.[40] Liu Yuan may have donated his own pictures along with the masterpieces owned by his late

father, or Yuan's adopted son might have donated them all.

## Daoist Pictures Acquired after 1100

Notably, although there are no original anecdotes concerning specific antique secular paintings, detailed information is given about two individual Daoist paintings. These episodes are conspicuous for a degree of specificity not seen elsewhere. The sources are unknown, but may be surmised. One of these paintings is a copy of an icon of the Daoist immortal Xu Shenweng, found in the list under the name of Wu Yuanyu. In Wu's entry in chapter 19, the authors reproduce a Preface and a long poem of six quatrains by the otherwise unknown literatus Li Fen, who was evidently employed by Zhao Hao. The poem tells how Xu Fu (Xu Shenweng), who had served the First August Emperor of Qin (r. 221–210 BCE) in life, returned from the land of immortality to his shrine at Hailing, where a painter of old was able to capture his appearance.[41] This ancient icon was what Wu Yuanyu was sent to copy. It is rare for the authors to repeat an entire poem; normally they are content to quote a couplet from memory. Yet I do not think they copied Li Fen's preface and poem from the scroll itself, since there is no other instance in the *Catalogue* where they gathered information directly from an artwork. My guess is that this literary material was copied into the *Register of Paintings* (*Hualu*), the running document of acquisitions maintained by the Palace Library.[42] From there, it was copied into the *Catalogue.*

The other rare instance of a supplied explanation for an individual painting appears for *The Sovereign of Eastern Florescence,* the sole work listed under the name of the ninth-century painter from Sichuan, Chen Ruoyu, in chapter 2. Chen was famous for his temple murals of the creatures of the four directions: azure dragon (east), white tiger (west), red bird (south), and dark warrior (north). Neither he nor anyone else was known to paint the Sovereign of Eastern Florescence, since it was not a traditional subject. Not long before the writing of the *Catalogue,* around 1113, Emperor Huizong dreamed that he was summoned by an unknown divinity with this name to visit Divine Empyrean Palace.[43] The emperor asked the court Daoist official Xu Zhichang for an explanation of this place. Though Xu has an entry in chapter 4, no mention is made of this interaction. Xu could find no information about the Divine Empyrean Palace, but someone recalled a poem about it written by another Daoist, Lin Lingsu (1076?–1120), who was then summoned to court. The explanation of the Sovereign of Eastern Florescence given in the entry for Chen Ruoyu sounds like the work of someone versed in Daoist

interpretation of the *Book of Changes,* rather than the authors of the *Catalogue,* who exhibit no understanding of Daoism anywhere else. My guess is that this unusually specific material derived from an explanation by Lin Lingsu, reproduced in a condensed and somewhat unintelligible form in Chen's entry. Lin is not credited, however. Perhaps this was because it was not the habit of the authors to give the source of their information, or possibly because Lin was sent away from court in disgrace a few months before the *Catalogue* was completed.[44] Since such a theme was anachronistic for Chen Ruoyu, I imagine the actual painting in question was one of two things. Either it was an older, anonymous depiction of some other deity, which was brought out of the palace storerooms and "recognized" as an image of the Sovereign of Eastern Florescence by Chen Ruoyu, or it was freshly commissioned by someone in Lin's camp and signed with Chen's name.

## Reattributions at the Court of Emperor Huizong

Many titles in the secondary lists are religious icons and figure paintings. Some of these attributions are plausible. The list under the name of Li Sheng, the tenth-century muralist from Sichuan, starts the subject-order over again, but the added titles relate to his career as known. His list begins with six Daoist subjects and continues with three pictures of lokapālas, seven historical figure paintings showing aristocrats at leisure, and four landscapes. At the end, the subject-matter order starts over again with two Buddhist pictures. The first title is a sketch-copy of a mural called *Greatly Compassionate [Guanyin] of Elephant Ear Mountain.* Huang Xiufu recorded that Li Sheng lived at the Shengshou Monastery in Chengdu for several years at the same time as National Preceptor Wuda (809–881), who was also known as Zhixuan.[45] According to Tom Suchan and Henrik Sørensen, Zhixuan was associated with Elephant Ear Mountain in Meizhou (modern Meishan County, Sichuan), which was known as a cultic center for the worship of Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara. Hence, this sketch-copy is likely from a mural of that Thousand-armed Guanyin, and this title agrees with known facts about Li Sheng's life.[46]

In other cases, however, the subject matter of the additional religious and figural pictures is seriously at odds with the painter's reputation. The case of Zhang Zao was described above. Another example is Jing Hao (ca. 855–915), the mountain hermit who was always classed as a landscape painter. His "Note on the Art of the Brush" is a philosophical treatise on painting pine trees, rocks, and landscapes.[47] The first seven titles in his

list are landscapes of summer and autumn, yet at the end are three titles of figural compositions based on ancient stories and literature, which are not only out of subject-matter order, but also would have required facility with antique styles of costume and architecture. This genre was never associated with Jing's name. I assume one of the court connoisseurs hoped to give cachet to some anonymous figure paintings by attributing them to the great Jing Hao. Another instance is the title *Confucius Meeting Yu Qiuzi,* which appears at the end of the list for the tenth-century landscape painter Dong Yuan.[48] Earlier critics had lauded Dong for landscape, oxen, and tigers, and the majority of the titles under his name in chapter 11 depict mountains and rivers, fishermen on river banks, ferries, dragons, and oxen. The incongruous presence of this moralizing figural subject would appear to be the result of a clumsy reattribution.

## Artists at the Court of Emperor Huizong

No artist of the imperial painting academy under Emperor Huizong is in the *Catalogue*. Other court officials of his either painted as an avocation, such as the calligrapher Li Shiyong, who painted bamboo, or were not really artists, such as the Daoist official Xu Zhichang, who submitted a sketch of a temple mural. The only inner-court official who painted for the palace was the eunuch official Jia Xiang. His entry says he was ordered by the emperor to paint dragons on screens in Preserving Harmony Hall. Screen-paintings are not listed in the *Catalogue,* except when the silk panels were removed from the frame and remounted as scrolls. These screens, being done close in time to the *Catalogue,* were probably still intact. No dragon paintings are listed, but the first scroll painting in Jia's list does relate to Preserving Harmony Hall, which was called Proclaiming Harmony Hall up until 1119. The title is *Jade-White Lingzhi at Proclaiming Harmony Hall.* The appearance of some magical-medicinal mushrooms that shone like jade was surely a tremendously auspicious sign. I would imagine that either the emperor ordered Jia to capture its likeness or Jia depicted it in order to report it. The second title listed under Jia's name might have been the study for the first. It is called *Jade-White Lingzhi, Sketched from Life.* His other pictures, called *Lake Rocks and Black Bamboo* and *Strange Rocks, Sketched from Life,* sound like sketches of scenes in the palace gardens, which were likely submitted as gifts.

## Royal Gift Culture

Most of the works by members of the Song royal family in the *Catalogue* would have been given to Emperors Shenzong and Zhezong. One family member young enough to have given works only to Emperor Huizong was his cousin Zhao Xiaoying, who was a couple of years his junior. Xiaoying's entry in chapter 16 indicates he was also the emperor's student in painting. It says the emperor "once gave him a *Wagtails* he had painted, in response to a painting lesson work he had submitted to the throne." Thus, the twenty-two bird-and-flower pictures listed under Xiaoying's name could be viewed either as studies or as gift exchange with a clan member. As they are in seasonal order, I assume they were all given to Emperor Huizong after 1100. If she were alive in 1120, Xiaoying's mother, the wife of Zhao Jun, née Wang, would have been in her early sixties. Nothing in her biography indicates she was deceased, so perhaps her two pictures of *Ink Bamboo, Sketched from Life* were given to her nephew, Emperor Huizong. Another younger royal family member was Zhao Lingbi. Like Zhao Lingsong (d. before 1120) and Zhao Lingrang (d. ca. 1101), he was descended from Zhao Defang (951–981), the fourth son of Emperor Taizu, instead of from Emperor Taizong, as Emperor Huizong was. The Song dynastic history indicates that Lingbi was living during the Xuanhe era, and his entry in the *Catalogue* does not give a posthumous title.[49] Hence, his single picture of *Ink Bamboo* was likely given to Emperor Huizong.

Works listed for eunuch officials who were living at the time the *Catalogue* was written were also likely the result of gift exchange with Emperor Huizong. Four sketches of eroded rocks are credited to the eunuch general Tong Guan. Perhaps Tong was given sketches or pictures by the emperor in return. A concrete proof of this relationship is a transcription of the *Thousand Character Classic* dated to 1104, in Emperor Huizong's hand, which is inscribed, "granted to Tong Guan."[50] Liang Kui held a position in Sagacious Contemplation Hall, a site for art-management activities near Proclaiming Harmony Hall.[51] His two landscapes are *Clearing Mists over Spring Mountains* and *Fishermen on a Lotus Stream,* which would be a spring picture followed by a summer picture. Luo Cun served as Chief Steward of the Food Service in the Palace Administration. The two landscapes listed under his name are *Autumn River, Returning Riders* and *Clearing after Snow, Returning Boats,* which are also in seasonal order. Since neither of these young men had any reputation as painters, and their output was so modest, I imagine their pictures were gifts to Emperor Huizong.

## CONCLUSION

My examination of the lists of painting titles indicates two types: unitary lists that follow the subject-matter order in the *Catalogue* and two-part lists, each part of which also follows the subject-matter order. It is my theory that the unitary lists represent two possible histories. Either all the artist's works were in the palace before 1100 and were already recorded in the old catalogue, now lost, upon which the present *Catalogue* was based; or all the works were received in the palace or reattributed by court connoisseurs between 1100 and 1120 and were recorded for the first time in the *Catalogue*. In the two-part lists, in my view, the first part was copied from the old catalogue, while the second part was added in the new *Catalogue,* again consisting of works recently acquired or reattributed. With this analysis of the lists of painting titles, the *Catalogue* becomes a window onto the history of the imperial painting collection in the Northern Song period. It suggests the accumulation of about 5,000 paintings from 960 to around 1100, and the accession or reattribution of something over a thousand from around 1100 to 1120.

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1. Alan Berkowitz, "Biographies of Recluses, Huangfu Mi's *Accounts of High-Minded Men,*" in Wendy Swartz, Robert Ford Campany, Yang Lu, and Jessey J.C. Choo, eds., *Early Medieval China: A Sourcebook* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 333.

2. Susan Bush and Hsio-Yen Shih, eds., *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985).

3. Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *Accumulating Culture: The Collections of Emperor Huizong* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008).

4. Amy McNair, *Donors of Longmen: Faith, Politics, and Patronage in Medieval Chinese Buddhist Sculpture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

5. William R.B. Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting,* 2 v. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954 and 1974) and Alexander Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu: Celebrated Painters of the T'ang Dynasty by Chu Ching-hsüan of T'ang," *Artibus Asiae* 21, no. 3/4 (1958): 204–230.

6. See Evelyne Mesnil, "La peinture au royaume de Shu (VIII-Xème siècles): une étude du *Yizhou Minghua Lu"* (dissertation, École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1998).

7. Alexander Soper, trans., *Kuo Jo-Hsü's Experiences in Painting (T'u-hua chien-wên chih): An Eleventh Century History of Chinese Painting Together with the Chinese Text in Facsimile* (Washington, D.C.: American Council of Learned Societies, 1951) (hereafter, *Experiences*) and Charles Lachman, trans., *Evaluations of Sung Dynasty Painters of Renown: Liu Tao-ch'un's Sung-ch'ao ming-hua p'ing* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989) (hereafter, *Evaluations*).

8. Zhang Yanyuan (ca. 815–ca. 875), *Lidai minghua ji,* in *Lidai minghua ji quanyi,* annotated and translated into modern Chinese by Cheng Zai (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 2009); Zhu Jingxuan (mid-9th c.), *Tangchao minghua lu,* in *Tang Wudai hualun,* annotated and translated into modern Chinese by He Zhiming and Pan Yungao (Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 1997), 75–115; Huang Xiufu (b. ca. 954–959, d. ca. 1017–1021), *Yizhou minghua lu,* in *Songren huaping,* annotated and

translated into modern Chinese by Yun Gao (Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 1999), 116–211; Guo Ruoxu (ca. 1041–ca. 1098), *Tuhua jianwen zhi,* in *Tuhua jianwen zhi; Huaji,* annotated and translated into modern Chinese by Mi Tianshui (Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 2000), 1–258; and Liu Daochun (ca. 1028–ca. 1094), *Songchao minghua ping* (1059), in *Songren huaping,* 2–104.

9. Xiao Baifang analyzed the order of the lists in the "Daoist and Buddhist Subjects" chapters to argue for the primacy of Daoism in the *Catalogue.* See Xiao Baifang, "Cong Song Huizong chong Dao, shi yishu de jiaodu guan 'Xuanhe huapu' de Dao Shi huihua," *Daojiaoxue tansuo* 4 (1991):122–328, esp. p. 267. For a critique of this argument, see Yen-wen Cheng, "Tradition and Transformation: Cataloguing Chinese Art in the Middle and Late Imperial Eras," PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2010, 38–39n91. An insightful treatment of Song painting titles is Alfreda Murck, "The Practice of Titling Paintings," in *Conference on Founding Paradigms, Papers on the Art and Culture of the Northern Sung Dynasty,* ed. Wang Yaoting (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2008), 297–323.

10. For example, Dong You (ca. 1079–ca. 1140), who served as an official in the palace library during the Xuanhe era, reported that an anonymous picture called *Herding Sheep* was confiscated from Zeng Yu (1073–1135), the son of Zeng Bu (1035–1107), in 1104 and turned over to the palace archives. See Dong, *Guangchuan huaba,* in *Guangchuan huaba jiaozhu,* Zhang Ziran, ed. (Zhengzhou: Henan daxue, 2012), 3.195–196.

11. I assume the existence of an old catalogue for two external reasons. Since the beginning of the Song dynasty, account books and registers were maintained for all the storehouses in the palace, as well as the Palace Library, so there surely would have been a catalogue of the painting collection. Further, court-sponsored texts were often based on earlier versions. An example is the *Sanli tu* of Nie Chongyi (fl. 948–964), which was based on earlier editions of that title. Nie called the earlier versions the "Old Illustrations." See François Louis, *Design by the Book: Chinese Ritual Objects and the* Sanli tu (New York: Bard Graduate Center, 2017), 39.

12. Emperor Gaozong (1107–1187) remembered them as serving as connoisseurs for his father. See Zhao Gao, *Hanmozhi,* as discussed in Ebrey, *Accumulating Culture,* 114.

13. See Charles Hartman, "A Textual History of Cai Jing's Biography in the *Songshi,"* in *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China: The Politics of Culture and the Culture of Politics,* Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Maggie Bickford, eds. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), 539.

14. Cai Tao (d. after 1147), *Tieweishan congtan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 4.78.

15. See Soper, *Experiences,* 102.

16. See Chen Pao-chen, "Emperor Li Hou-chu as a Calligrapher, Painter, and Collector," in *Selected Essays on Court Culture in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 1999), 133–169.

17. See Johannes L. Kurz, "On the Unification Plans of the Southern Tang Dynasty," *Journal of Asian History* 50.1 (2016):26.

18. See Ankeney Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record of Clouds and Mist Passing Before One's Eyes: An Annotated Translation* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 115.

19. Soper, *Experiences,* 95.

20. See Mi Fu, *Hua shi,* in *Songren hualun,* annotated and translated into modern Chinese by Xiong Zhiting, Liu Chenghuai, and Jin Wude (Changsha: Hunan meishu

chubanshe, 2010), 127n13. The emperor in question should be Shenzong, in my view, but these modern commentators think it was Emperor Yingzong. See also Wai-kam Ho, "Li Ch'eng and the Mainstream of Northern Sung Painting," *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1972), 251–283.

21. Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 132.

22. Lachman, *Evaluations,* 23–24.

23. Soper, *Experiences,* 90–91.

24. Soper, *Experiences,* 6.

25. Soper, *Experiences,* 90.

26. See Guo Si, *Linquan gaozhi,* in *Songren hualun,* 51–52, and Robert J. Maeda, *Two Twelfth Century Texts on Chinese Painting* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1970), 61.

27. Alfreda Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China: The Subtle Art of Dissent* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000).

28. The only other Song-dynasty mention of Wu is by Cai Tao (Cai, *Tieweishan congtan,* 1.6). While Cai also identified Wu as a student of Cui Bai, he remembered Wu as serving in Emperor Huizong's princely mansion and practicing painting with him. See also Chen Gaohua, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1984), 333–337.

29. A biography of Hao is in Toghto (1313–1355) et al., *Song shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 246.8720–8721.

30. In 1112, this new name was given to the post formerly called Capital Security Commissioner, held by a military officer or eunuch official, who was the head of a secret service agency for the emperor. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 169.4055, and Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), no. 2833.

31. Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 246.8721.

32. See Richard Edwards, "Li Gonglin's Copy of Wei Yan's 'Pasturing Horses'," *Artibus Asiae* 53, no.1/2 (1993):169; and Ebrey, *Accumulating Culture,* 389. Li's list has a Copy of *Horses* by Han Gan, but none after Wei Yan.

33. See Robert E. Harrist, Jr., "The Hermit of Lung-mien: A Biography of Li Kung-lin," in Richard M. Barnhart et al., *Li Kung-lin's Classic of Filial Piety* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993), 39–47.

34. The only other example is the *Tracing Copy of Seventy-two Worthies* attributed to Huang Jucai, in chapter 17. The *Catalogue* states that Xu Chongsi also did tracing copies, but there are none in his list in chapter 17.

35. See Wai-kam Ho, "Danyan jushi Zhang Cheng kaolüe binglun 'Mo Zhou Wenju gongzhong tu jua' ba hou zhi 'jun sima yin' ji qita weiyin," *Shanghai bowuguan jikan* 1987.4:35–50.

36. Deng Chun, *Huaji,* in *Tuhua jianwen zhi, Huaji,* ed. Mi, 1.266–267.

37. Emperor Shenzong asked Liu Youfang to have Guo Xi evaluate and classify the collection of paintings in the imperial archives. See Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 188.

38. Mi Fu, *Huashi,* 111, and Paul Pelliot, "Le plus ancien possesseur connu du "Kou K'ai-tche" du British Museum," *T'oung Pao* 30 (1933), no. 3/5:453–455.

39. See Zhang Ziran, *Guangchuan huaba jiaozhu,* 401n12, quoting Ye Mengde (1077–1148), *Bishu hualu.*

40. See Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 239.

41. Hailing is now Taizhou, in modern Jiangsu Province.

42. For more on the subject of this record of paintings, see Foong Ping, Review of Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *Accumulating Culture: The Collections of Emperor Huizong, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 71, no. 2 (2011):409–421.

43. See Zhao Yushi (1175–1231), *Bintui lu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), 1:4.

44. See his biography in Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 462.13529–13530.

45. Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 159.

46. See Zanning (919–1001), *Song Gaoseng zhuan,* ch. 6, in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–1932), 50:2061.743b04–744c14, and Tom Suchan and Henrik H. Sørensen, "Seal-Bearing Bodhisattvas in the Sculptural Art of Sichuan and the Significance of Seals within the Chinese Esoteric Buddhist Tradition," *Artibus Asiae* 73, no. 2 (2013):412.

47. See Kiyohiko Munakata, *Ching Hao's Pi-fa-chi: A Note on the Art of the Brush, Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 31 (Ascona: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1974).

48. Yu Qiu was an official and advisor to King Zhuang of Chu (d. 591 BCE). This topic may come from an anecdote in Han Ying (ca. 150 BCE), *Hanshi waizhuan,* ch. 7.

49. Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 244.8684.

50. Now in the Shanghai Museum.

51. See Maggie Bickford, "Making the Chinese Cultural Heritage at the Courts of Northern Sung China," in *Conference on Founding Paradigms: Papers on the Art and Culture of Northern Sung China,* Wang Yaoting, ed. (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2008), 508–509.

# Terminology from the Lists of Paintings

The *Catalogue* has its own idiosyncratic way of utilizing terminology for painting formats and painting techniques in the painting lists. The technique is given before the painting title, while the format is listed after. As an example, under the name of Zhao Lingrang in chapter 20 is *"Ink-Wash Mynas,* two pictures." "Ink-wash" is the technique, while the format is "picture." As another example, under the name of Fan Qiong in chapter 2, is "Copy of *Feilian, the [Wind] God,* one icon." "Copy" is the technique, while "icon" is the format.

## Terms for Painting Formats

The authors did not use modern names for formats, such as handscroll or hanging scroll. Instead, they used terms related to the content of the imagery. By far, the most commonly used word is *tu* 圖, which I have translated as "picture." For religious paintings, the term *xiang* 像 is used, which I have translated as "icon," and *xiang* 相, which I have translated as "tableau." In very rare cases, the authors used *bianxiang* 變相, which I note, but also give as "tableau."[1] Occasionally, there is a "Buddha mural" (*fo yindi* 佛因地), which I assume means a sketch from a mural and not a chunk of painted plaster wall, although there were those who collected them.[2] *Zhen* 真 is usually employed for images of historical persons, so I

have translated it as "portrait," even though the picture might have been done many years after the lifetime of the sitter and could not meet the definition of a portrait as an image taken from life.

## Terms for Painting Techniques

Terms for painting techniques precede the title of the work. Depending on the subject matter, I have translated *xie* 寫 as either "copy" or "sketch-copy." If it precedes the title of a painting by another artist and his name, I translate it as "copy," but if it seems to relate to a mural, I translate it as "sketch-copy." For example, Li Gonglin is credited with a copy of Wang Wei's *Watching the Clouds*. I call this a "copy" and I assume this was a completed painting that reproduced everything in the model, since Li was famous for making copies of paintings. By contrast, an example of *xie* as "sketch-copy" may be seen in a title attributed to Huang Quan, which I translate as "Sketch-copy of *Ten Perfected Ones,* one icon." Since it is a single item, not ten individual scrolls as might be hung for a Daoist religious ceremony, I think it was drawn after figures in a temple mural and was made as a record of their appearance more than as a finished artwork. The term "tracing copy," which is seen with only three artists (Li Gonglin, Huang Jucai, and Xu Chongsi), probably means a picture created by laying a thin sheet of paper over the original work and tracing the design.

Descriptors for ink monochrome or color are quite rare among the pre-Song paintings, but "ink bamboo" (*mozhu* 墨竹) is highlighted as a new, modern subject in chapter 20. "Ink-wash" (*shuimo* 水墨) is seen in the titles of paintings by the amateur artists who did bamboo or landscape in the Northern Song, while the term "applied color" (*zhuose* 著色) is seen in the title of a bamboo painting by Wen Tong, probably because ink bamboo had become the norm. The term *xiesheng* 寫生 found in painting titles actually denotes two utterly different techniques. In the titles of flower paintings by masters who worked in color, I translate it as "drawing-under-color," following the description of this technique by Shen Kuo (1031–1095), who praised the *xiesheng* technique in the art of Huang Quan.[3] Shen wrote that the flower-painters in the Huang family were skilled in the application of color, and their use of the brush was so delicate that you could scarcely see the lines of ink; their pictures were finished with light washes of color. In other words, there was ink drawing overlaid with colors. Xu Xi used this technique as well, as revealed by

these lines of a poem written by Mei Yaochen (1002–1060): "After years have passed, the white pigment flakes off, revealing the traces of the ink / Only then can you understand how astonishing his skill at delineation was."[4] Hence, rather than try to translate *xiesheng* literally, I translate it with a phrase that suggests the way the technique was done: "drawing-under-color." The other technique represented by *xiesheng* does allow for a more literal translation: "sketched from life." This is appropriate when the biographical entry makes plain that the artist practiced sketching from life. For the eunuch official Li Yanzhi, for example, I have translated his two titles as *Grasses and Insects, Sketched from Life,* and *Cut-Branch Flowers, Sketched from Life* because his entry says "Sketching from life was his special skill."

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1. *Bianxiang* has been rendered into English as "transformation tableau." This is based on a literal translation of *bian* as "transformation." See Wu Hung, "What Is Bianxiang?—On The Relationship Between Dunhuang Art and Dunhuang Literature," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 52, no. 1 (June 1992):111–192. According to Daniel B. Stevenson (personal communication, May 3, 2017), the Sanskrit term in the Amitābha scriptures that was rendered by early translators as *bian* is more akin to the notions of "display," "depiction," "manifestation," or "performance." Despite the classical defense by Wang Wei of the term *bian* as "transformation" in a spiritual sense, it seems more likely the original idea in the Sanskrit was of a display of figures in a Buddhist scene or story. See Taraneh Aghdaie, "Transforming the Spirit: Wang Wei's Encomium on a Pure Land Bianxiang," MA thesis, University of Kansas, 2017.

2. Guo Ruoxu tells of "a certain Mr. Hu" who collected frescoes. See Soper, *Experiences,* 83.

3. See Shen Kuo (1031–1095), *Mengxi bitan jiaozheng* (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1961), 17.555; translated in Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 126–127.

4. As quoted in the entry on Xu Xi in chapter 17.

# Translation Notes

Though I supplied some words to make the text comprehensible, I endeavored to keep this to a minimum in order to retain the quality of the original. Material in brackets is my addition. The occasional bit of information in parentheses is parenthetical in the Yuan printed edition. The unique copy of this 1303 edition was reprinted by the National Palace Museum, Taipei, in 1971, and this is the text I translated.[1] In my notes are references to information and opinions given in two modern Chinese translations of *Xuanhe huapu,* by Yu Jianhua (1895–1979) and Yue Ren. Without the work of these scholars, I would never have dared try to translate the *Catalogue* into English. For official titles, I have relied gratefully upon Charles O. Hucker's *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Hucker's translations are used herein for all official titles unless stated otherwise. My notes also give references to other biographical sources for the artists, as compiled in Yu Jianhua's standard dictionary of artists, *Zhongguo meishujia renming cidian;* as well as the compilation of earlier treatments of Six Dynasties painters in Chen Chuanxi, *Liuchao huajia shiliao;* Sui and Tang painters in Chen Gaohua, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao;* and Song and Liao painters in Chen Gaohua, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao*. The reader will also find sources for scripture, historical persons, and well-known stories and anecdotes that are cited in the *Catalogue,* and citations for some titles of paintings that are thought to be extant.

1. Published as *Ying Yuan Dade ben Xuanhe huapu* (1303, rpt. Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1971).

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# Preface to *Xuanhe Catalogue of Paintings*

When "the [Yellow] River issued the diagram, and the Luo [River] issued the writing,"[1] the tortoise and dragon delineations first made their appearance. The use of insect- and bird-[script characters] by later generations [indicates that] the general forms of the tortoise and dragon [delineations] were not yet lost.[2] By the time of Yu, they displayed the five colors and made depictions of tigers and monkeys [on official clothing], and due to this making of images, [painting and writing] were gradually separated. According to the *Zhou Official System,* the Sons of State were taught the six [kinds of] characters. The third of these was called "pictographic," and here the so-called identity of calligraphy and painting was still preserved.[3] Thereafter, however, in order to recognize hill-spirits and to [let the people] know [the distinctions between] the helping and the harming spirits, they were engraved onto [bronze] bells and tripods;[4] in order to clarify the rites and music and to display the laws and regulations, [imagery] was held aloft on banners and flags. The esteem for painting and drawing began with this. Hence, although painting is merely a skill, the ancient sages were never indifferent to it. From the Three Dynasties on, its ability to extol worthy service and to record [discrepancies between] reputation and reality was considered the way to complete the insufficiency of [words written] on bamboo and silk to describe great virtue.[5] Thus the [portraits] in the Cloud Terrace and the Unicorn Pavilion were made, so that those of later times who looked at them were able to imagine these people.[6] The purpose of paintings is this: good people are [depicted] to show [their virtue] to their contemporaries

and bad people to serve as a warning to those who come later.[7] How could anyone take the variegations of the five colors merely as a worldly amusement?[8] Now when the Son of Heaven[9] has no business in the palace or imperial temple, when he continues the inheritance from the sages of successive dynasties whose enduring merit through the generations has brought the empire peace, when the watchman's rattle is silent at Yuguan,[10] and when there is no smoke of beacon-fires on the border, then he may concentrate on pictures and books, with the hope that by seeing the good, he will take it as a warning against evil, while seeing the evil will make him think on the virtuous, as well as making him better acquainted with the names of many insects, fishes, grasses, and trees.[11] Things that cannot be fully described in writing or whose appearance cannot be widely known can be seen completely in [pictures]. There is no lack of other people in addition to those recorded in this *Catalogue,* but their personalities and styles are common and coarse. Those not worthy of mention these days have been eliminated, and only those who will encourage those to come have been included. Therefore, what is compiled here from the holdings of the palace repository, by 231 famous painters from the Wei-Jin period onward, totals 6,396 scrolls, divided into ten categories and given critical rankings in chronological order.[12] In the *gengzi* year of the Proclaiming Harmony era, on the day of the summer solstice.[13]

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1. Quoting from *Yijing, Xici shang,* in *Shisan jing,* 2 v. (Beijing: Beijing Yanshan, 1991), 1:80. Han-dynasty commentators such as Kong Anguo (ca. 156–ca. 74 BCE) and Liu Xin explain that in the time of the legendary culture-hero Fuxi, a dragon-horse emerged from the Yellow River and on its back the hair was swirled into the constellations, which was called the Dragon Diagram. From this, Fuxi drew the Eight Trigrams and invented milfoil divination. When Yu (ca. 2070 BCE) of Xia was channeling the waters of the land, a divine tortoise emerged from the Luo River and on its back were patterns of cracks. These patterns were like characters, so from them Yu made the "Nine Divisions." See "Shangshu zhengyi," in Ruan Yuan (1764–1849), ed., *Shisan jing zhushu,* 2 v. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 12.75; 18.125; and Ban Gu (32–92), *Han shu,* annotated by Yan Shigu (581–645) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 27.1315.

2. These scripts arose in the Spring and Autumn Period (770–476 BCE) and continued to be used into the Han dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE). See Ma Guoqian, "Niaochongshu lungao," *Guwenzi yanjiu* 10 (1983):139–176.

3. *Zhouguan* (*Zhou Official System*) is another name for *Zhouli* (*The Rites of Zhou*), but these two sentences are actually taken from "On the Origins of Painting," the opening essay of *Lidai minghua ji* (hereafter LDMHJ), written by Zhang Yanyuan (ca. 815–ca. 875) around 847. See William R.B. Acker (1907–1974), *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting,* 2 v. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954 and 1974), 1:66. The six

kinds of characters are explained in the "Postface" to Xu Shen (ca. 55–ca. 149), *Shuowen jiezi,* although Xu calls "pictographic," or *xiangxing,* the second type, not the third. Xu gives "sun" and "moon" as examples of "pictographic." See "Xu Shen's Postface to the Shuo Wen Jie Zi," trans. Göran Malmqvist, in David Pankenier, *On Script and Writing in Ancient China* (Stockholm: Föreningen för orientaliska studier, 1974), 49; Qiu Xigui, *Chinese Writing,* tr. Gilbert L. Mattos and Jerry Norman (Berkeley: Society for the Study of Early China and the Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 2000), 152; and Timothy Michael O'Neill, *Ideography and Chinese Language Theory: A History* (Berlin and Boston: de Gruyter, 2016), 261.

4. This information is ultimately derived from *Zuozhuan,* although it only speaks of images cast into *ding*. Using the translation in K.C. Chang, *Art, Myth, and Ritual: The Path to Political Authority in Ancient China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), 64.

5. The Three Dynasties refers to Xia (2070–1600 BCE), Shang (1600–1046 BCE), and Zhou (1046–256 BCE). Dates given here are those established by the Chinese government's Three Dynasties Project.

6. For a thorough discussion of the Unicorn Hall (Qilin ge) and the Cloud Terrace (Yuntai), see Anthony J. Barbieri-Low, *Artisans in Early Imperial China* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2007), 156–160. In the Weiyang Palace of Emperor Xuan of the Han (r. 74–49 BCE) was the Unicorn Pavilion, commissioned in 51 BCE, in which were eleven portraits of worthy generals and officials. This inspired a similar project ordered by the Later Han emperor Ming (r. 57–75 CE) around 60 CE, who commissioned the portraits of 28 meritorious officials and generals painted on the walls of the Cloud Terrace. Barbieri-Low notes evidence that the murals in these halls were copied onto silk scrolls before they were destroyed during subsequent warfare (159).

7. This appears to paraphrase "The wicked are warnings to the world / The good are examples for posterity" from the "Rhapsody on the Hall of Numinous Brilliance in Lu," by Wang Yanshou (act. ca. 124–148). See David R. Knechtges, trans., *Wen xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), II:262–267.

8. As all commentators on *Xuanhe huapu* note, up to this point, the Preface is much indebted to Zhang Yanyuan's "On the Origins of Painting," the title of the first section of his *Lidai minghua ji*. For a translation, see Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 1:61–80. See also *Lidai minghua ji quanyi* (hereafter LDMHJQY), annotated and translated into modern Chinese by Cheng Zai (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 2009), 1–12.

9. In the opinion of Yue Ren and others, the use of the terminology "Son of Heaven" (Tianzi 天子) in this Preface indicates that it was not composed by Emperor Huizong. In Yue's view, the emperor would have normally used the terms *zhen*朕, the royal "We," or *guaren* 寡人, "The Unworthy." See Yue Ren, trans., *Xuanhe huapu* (Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 1999), 4n15. This section of the Preface appears indebted to Guo Ruoxu's description of the involvement of Emperor Taizong in the arts, made possible by the peace secured by the Song and only as "fruitful relaxation from his myriad cares." See Alexander Soper, trans., *Kuo Jo-Hsü's Experiences in Painting (T'u-hua chien-wên chih): An Eleventh Century History of Chinese Painting Together with the Chinese Text in Facsimile* (Washington, D.C.: American Council of Learned Societies, 1951), 6.

10. Yuguan, or Yumen guan, was the westernmost pass on the Chinese border with

Central Asia. The lack of need for a watchman means peace on the western frontier.

11. This is a paraphrase of the line in *Lunyu,* ch. 17 (Yang Huo), no. 8: "The Master said, 'Young men, why do you not learn the *Book of Songs? Songs* can be of help to you in using metaphors, observing things, becoming gregarious, employing satire, serving your father nearby, serving your sovereign afar, and making you better acquainted with the names of birds, beasts, grasses and trees." Adapted from *The Analects of Confucius [Lun Yu]: A Literal Translation with an Introduction and Notes,* Chichung Huang (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 168.

12 The artists in this catalogue are listed in roughly chronological order, with some exceptions, but there is no system of critical ranking employed.

13. This date would be around June 20–21, 1120. The spurious addition of "Proclaiming Harmony Hall, imperially composed" to the end of the Preface first appears in the edition reprinted in the compendium *Jindai mishu,* published in 1630 by the book collector Mao Jin (1599–1659). Since Proclaiming Harmony Hall was renamed Preserving Harmony Hall in 1119, this is patently anachronistic. See Xie Wei, *Zhongguo huaxue zhuzuo kaolu* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1998), 164.

# Explanation of the Categories[1]

When Sima Qian wrote his history, he placed first the texts of Huang-Lao thought and the Six Classics afterward, which drew much criticism.[2] Yet when we look at the writings of Yang Xiong, where he said, "The Six Classics reach the Way," we realize that Qian's arrangement is worthy of being perpetuated.[3] Now this explains that the particular placement of Daoist and Buddhist subjects at the head of all the sections of this *Catalogue of Paintings* in ten categories was taken from this. Endowed with the refinement of the Five Elements and constituting the most intelligent of the ten thousand things, the noble [among men] are princes and lords, while the humble are commoners. As for the appearance of their caps and crowns, their vehicles and costumes, their mountains and forests, and their "hills and streams,"[4] all are worthy [of depiction in painting]. Therefore, figural subjects is placed next. The people of High Antiquity[5] created burrows and built nests in order to dwell in them, while "the sage men of later times" established a system, with "roof beams above and eaves below, in order to protect against wind and rain."[6] In the various types of "palaces, mansions, terraces, and pavilions"[7] and in the clusters of peasant cottages and village houses, each with its own degree of craft or expense, are revealed people's customs. Therefore, architectural subjects is placed next. When the Son of Heaven possesses the Way, [the empire] is safeguarded from the surrounding barbarians. Sometimes the passes are closed and hostages declined; other times treasures are offered in tribute and all are on good terms. Then we perform for them the *Elegantiae* and the *Nan,* and between these we play some of their music.[8] When their princes come with offerings, we do not despise these people. Therefore, barbarian tribes is placed next.

Ascending and descending at will, they are never controlled or tamed, with transformations none can fathom. "They forget each other in rivers and lakes."[9] Those who are "followed by clouds" and mist, and those who "have enjoyment in the Hao River" are the same.[10] Therefore, the subject of dragons and fish is placed next. The Five Marchmounts that serve to stabilize, the Four Rivers that issue from their sources, the "clouds that begin to gather and rain comes pouring down,"[11] the raging billows and rushing waters—just a few inches [of a painting can depict] ten thousand *li* [of scenery].[12] In [paintings], the gathering and expanding of clouds and mist and the brightening and darkening of dawn and dusk is as though heaven is created and the earth established. Therefore, landscape is placed next. The ox, by whom "heavy loads are transported and distant regions reached,"[13] and the horse, who "roams the earth without limits," together with the brightly patterned tiger and the richly colored leopard, the dog Hanlu and the hare Dongguo, though they have been transmitted in books, they are also worthy [of depiction in painting]. Therefore, the subject of domestic and wild animals is placed next. The flowering and fruiting of plants, the flights and calls of birds, and the birth and growth of animals and plants possess unspoken principles and change through the four seasons unbidden. Poets used them to create metaphors, allusions, and satirical remonstrations. Therefore, the subject of flowers and birds is placed next. Burdened by snow, oppressed by frost, it seems to possess an independent integrity. With its hollow heart and lofty joints, it seems to possess an excellent virtue. Cut it to make pitch pipes, write on it as bamboo strips; the most beautiful plants cannot do this. Freed from "the reds and blues," its lack of color is to be admired. Therefore, ink bamboo is placed next. [The old man] "lugged a pitcher, which he carried out to water the fields,"[14] and [Fan Chi] "requested to learn vegetable gardening"[15]—the Way to nourish life is the same as [the way to produce] ordinary food and drink. The lovely scents and flavors of their blossoms and fruits make them suitable for ritual presentation in baskets and platters and for offering to deities. Therefore, the subject of vegetables and fruits concludes [this *Catalogue*]. As for the order of the people herein, since they could not be divided according to a classification scheme, they are solely ordered by chronology. Whoever wishes to use this book can get to a painting by its subject category and from the painting get to the person and from the person "judge the age."[16] [The reader] will understand that what is transmitted in this *Catalogue of Paintings* is not "learned indirectly through others."[17]

A total of ten categories divided into twenty chapters
Altogether 231 people

A sum of 6,396 scrolls

- Daoist and Buddhist subjects
  - Forty-nine people
  - One thousand, one hundred and seventy-nine scrolls
- Figural subjects
  - Thirty-three people
  - Five hundred five scrolls
- Architecture
  - Four people
  - Seventy-one scrolls
- Barbarian Tribes
  - Five people
  - One hundred thirty-three scrolls
- Dragons and Fish
  - Eight people
  - One hundred seventeen scrolls
- Landscape
  - Forty-one people
  - One thousand, one hundred and eight scrolls
- Domestic and Wild Animals
  - Twenty-seven people
  - Three hundred twenty-four scrolls
- Flowers and Birds
  - Forty-six people
  - Two thousand, seven hundred and eighty-six scrolls
- Ink Bamboo
  - Twelve people
  - One hundred forty-eight scrolls
- Vegetables and Fruit
  - Six people
  - Twenty-five scrolls

Chapter One

- Daoist and Buddhist Subjects, One, including the Three Teachings, Master Zhong Kui, Demons and Gods
  - Prefatory Explanation
    - Jin
      - Gu Kaizhi
    - Song
      - Lu Tanwei
    - Liang
      - Zhang Sengyou
    - Sui

Zhan Ziqian, Dong Zhan
Tang
Yan Lide, Yan Liben, Zhang Xiaoshi, Fan Changshou, He Changshou, Yuchi Yiseng
Chapter Two
Daoist and Buddhist Subjects, Two
Tang
Wu Daoyuan,[18] Zhai Yan, Yang Tingguang, Lu Lengqie, Zhao Deqi, Fan Qiong, Chang Can, Sun Wei, Zhang Nanben, Xin Cheng, Zhang Suqing, Chen Ruoyu, Yao Siyuan
Chapter Three
Daoist and Buddhist Subjects, Three
Five Dynasties
Wang Shang, Yan Yun, Zhi Zhongyuan, Zuo Li, Zhu You, Li Sheng, Du Zigui, Du Nigui, Zhang Yuan, Cao Zhongyuan, Lu Huang, Guanxiu
Chapter Four
Daoist and Buddhist Subjects, Four
Song Dynasty
Sun Mengqing, Sun Zhiwei, Goulong Shuang, Lu Wentong, Wang Qihan, Gu Deqian, Hou Yi, Wu Dongqing, Han Qiu, Yang Fei, Wu Zongyuan, Xu Zhichang, Li Derou
Chapter Five
Figural Subjects, One, including Portraits of Emperors and Princes from Prior Dynasties
Prefatory Explanation
Wu
Cao Fuxing
Jin
Wei Xie, Xie Zhi
Sui
Zheng Fashi
Tang
Yang Ning, Yang Sheng, Zhang Xuan, Zheng Qian, Chen Hong, Zhou Guyan
Chapter Six
Figural Subjects, Two
Tang
Zhou Fang, Wang Fei, Han Huang, Zhao Wenqi, Du Tingmu, Wu Shen, Zhong Shishao
Five Dynasties
Zhao Yan, Du Xiao, Qiu Wenbo, Qiu Wenxiao, Ruan Gao, Lady

Tong
Chapter Seven
Figural Subjects, Three
Song Dynasty
Zhou Wenju, Shi Ke, Li Jingdao, Li Jingyou, Gu Hongzhong, Gu Dazhong, Hao Cheng, Tang Zisheng, Li Gonglin, Yang Riyan
Chapter Eight
Architecture, including Boats and Vehicles
Prefatory Explanation
Tang
Yin Jizhao
Five Dynasties
Hu Yi, Wei Xian
Song Dynasty
Guo Zhongshu
Barbarian Tribes, including Barbarian Beasts
Prefatory Explanation
Tang
Hu Gui, Hu Qian
Five Dynasties
Li Zanhua, Wang Renshou, Fang Congzhen
Chapter Nine
Dragons and Fish, including Aquatic Creatures
Prefatory Explanation
Five Dynasties
Yuan Yi, Monk Chuangu
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Kexiong, Shunuo, Dong Yu, Yang Hui, Song Yongxi, Liu Cai
Chapter Ten
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Prefatory Explanation
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Li Sixun, Li Zhaodao, Lu Hong, Wang Wei, Wang Qia, Xiang Rong, Zhang Xun, Bi Hong, Zhang Zao, Jing Hao
Five Dynasties
Guan Tong, Du Kai
Chapter Eleven
Landscape, Two
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Dong Yuan, Li Cheng, Fan Kuan, Xu Daoning, Chen Yongzhi, Zhai Yuanshen, Gao Keming, Guo Xi, Sun Keyuan, Zhao Gan,

Qu Ding, Lu Jin, Wang Shiyuan, Yan Su
Chapter Twelve
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Chapter Thirteen
Domestic and Wild Animals, One
Prefatory Explanation
Jin
Shi Daoshi
Tang
Yuanchang, Prince of Han; Xu, Prince of Jiangdu; Wei Wutian, Cao Ba, Pei Kuan, Han Gan, Wei Jian, Wei Yan, Zhao Bowen, Dai Song, Dai Yi, Li Jian, Li Zhonghe, Zhang Fu
Chapter Fourteen
Domestic and Wild Animals, Two
Five Dynasties
Luo Saiweng, Zhang Jizhi, Li Guizhen, Li Aizhi
Song Dynasty
Lingsong, Zhao Mochuo, Zhu Xi, Zhu Ying, Zhen Hui, Wang Ning, Qi Xu, Venerable Master “He”
Chapter Fifteen
Flowers and Birds, One
Prefatory Explanation
Tang
Yuanying, Prince of Teng; Xue Ji, Bian Luan, Yu Xi, Liang Guang, Xiao Yue, Diao Guang, Zhou Huang
Five Dynasties
Hu Zhuo, Mei Xingsi, Guo Qianhui, Guo Qianyou
Chapter Sixteen
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Zhong Yin, Huang Quan, Huang Jubao, Teng Changyou
Song Dynasty
Zonghan, Xiaoying, Zhongquan, Zhongxian, Shitian, Shilei, Lady Cao
Chapter Seventeen
Flowers and Birds, Three
Song Dynasty

Li Yu, Huang Jucai, Qiu Qingyu, Xu Xi, Xu Chongsi, Xu Chongju, Tang Xiya, Tang Zhongzuo
Chapter Eighteen
Flowers and Birds, Four
Song Dynasty
Zhao Chang, Yi Yuanji, Cui Bai, Cui Que, Ai Xuan, Ding Kuang, Ge Shouchang
Chapter Nineteen
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1. This translation is indebted to Richard Barnhart's version, called "Introduction to Classification," in Susan Bush and Hsio-yen Shih, eds., *Early Chinese Texts on Painting* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1985), 103–105.

2. In the Preface to his *Shiji,* Sima Qian (ca. 145–ca. 86 BCE) named six schools of thought used for governing. Yinyang precedes Ru, followed by Mo, Fa, Ming, and Daode. The authors seem to equate Huang-Lao thought to Yinyang, which focused on cyclical natural forces and calendrical sciences. Ru indicates the six arts and the six classics. See Sima, *Shiji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 130.3288–3290. The criticism is in Ban, *Han shu,* 62.2738.

3. This is a misquotation and misunderstanding of a line from Yang Xiong's (53 BCE–18 CE) *Fayan,* ch. 2, no. 9, which actually reads: "One can never set aside the Five

Classics if one intends to cross over to the Way." See Michael Nylan, trans., *Exemplary Figures: Fayan / Yang Xiong* (53 BCE–18 CE), (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2013), 30–31. Yu Jianhua (1895–1979) sensibly commented that what Yang meant by "the Way" is the Way of the ruler who brings peace to the realm, a Confucian concept. See Yu Jianhua, trans., *Xuanhe huapu* (Beijing: Renmin meishu chubanshe, 1964), 12. The Six Confucian Classics are the *Songs, History, Ritual, Music* (now lost), *Changes,* and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

4. In this *Catalogue,* "hills and streams" describes the mental state of reclusion in landscape rather than an actual place. Here and throughout, I follow Richard Mather's translation of *qiugu* as "hills and streams." See *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World,* by Liu I-ch'ing; with commentary by Liu Chün; translated with introduction and notes by Richard B. Mather, 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2002), 395.

5. This probably means pre-Xia dynasty, or Paleolithic, cultures. *Liji, Liyun* [ch. 9] says, "In the past, the former kings did not live in palaces and mansions, but in winter they lived in burrows they created and in summer they lived in nests they built." See *Shisan jing,* 1:763.

6. *Yijing, Yici xia,* in *Shisan jing,* 1:82.

7. *Shujing, Zhou shu, Tai shi shang,* in *Shisan jing,* 1:148.

8. "Zhou nan" and "Shao nan" designate the first two groups of poems of the Guofeng section of the *Book of Songs.* The following sections are the Lesser Elegantiae (Xiao Ya) and the Greater Elegantiae (Da Ya).

9. In ch. 6, "The Great and Venerable Teacher," of *Zhuangzi,* it says, "When the springs dry up and the fish are left stranded on the ground, they spew each other with moisture and wet each other down with spit—but it would be much better if they could forget each other in the rivers and lakes. Instead of praising Yao and condemning Jie, it would be better to forget both of them and transform yourself with the Way." Adapted from Burton Watson, trans., *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1968), 80.

10. From the hexagram *qian,* in the *Yijing*: "Clouds follow the dragon" (*Shisan jing,* 1:3). *Zhuangzi,* ch. 17, "Autumn Floods" says, "Zhuangzi and Huizi were strolling along the bridge over the Hao River when Zhuangzi said, 'See how the minnows come out and dart around where they please! That's what fish really enjoy!' Huizi said, 'You're not a fish—how do you know what fish enjoy?' Zhuangzi said, 'You're not I, so how do you know I don't know what fish enjoy?' Huizi said, 'I'm not you, so I certainly don't know what you know. On the other hand, you're certainly not a fish—so that still proves you don't know what fish enjoy!' Zhuangzi said, 'Let's go back to your original question, please. You asked me *how* I know what fish enjoy—so you already knew I knew it when you asked the question. I know it standing here beside the Hao.'" Adapted from Watson, *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 188–189.

11. In *Mencius,* "Liang Hui wang shang" chapter, no. 6, Mencius says to King Xiang of Liang, "Does Your Majesty not know about the young seedling? Should there be a drought in the seventh or eighth month, it will wilt. If clouds begin to gather in the sky and rain comes pouring down, then it will spring up again. This being the case, who can stop it?" D.C. Lau, trans., *Mencius,* rev. ed. (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2003), 13.

12. This is a common expression for landscape painting, as in the line from *Tangchao minghua lu* (hereafter TCMHL), by Zhu Jingxuan (act. mid-9th c.): "While he displays his talents within a square inch, a thousand *li* lie within his grasp."

Translation in Alexander C. Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu: Celebrated Painters of the T'ang Dynasty by Chu Ching-hsüan of T'ang," *Artibus Asiae* 21, no. 3/4 (1958):204–230, esp. 207.

13. From *Xici xia* commentary to the *Yijing.* See *Shisan jing,* 1:81.

14. *Zhuangzi,* ch. 12, "Heaven and Earth," says, "Zigong traveled south to Chu, and on his way back through Jin, as he passed along the south bank of the Han, he saw an old man preparing his fields for planting. He had hollowed out an opening by which he entered the well and from which he emerged, lugging a pitcher, which he carried out to water the fields. Grunting and puffing, he used up a great deal of energy and produced very little result. 'There is a machine for this sort of thing,' said Zigong.... 'It's called a well sweep.' The gardener flushed with anger and then said with a laugh, 'I've heard my teacher say, where there are machines, there are bound to be machine worries; where there are machine worries, there are bound to be machine hearts. With a machine heart in your breast, you've spoiled what was pure and simple; and without the pure and simple, the life of the spirit knows no rest. Where the life of the spirit knows no rest, the Way will cease to buoy you up. It's not that I don't know about your machine—I would be ashamed to use it!'" Adapted from Watson, *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 134.

15. "When Fan Chi requested to learn farming, the Master said, 'I am not as good as an old farmer.' When he requested to learn vegetable gardening, the Master said, 'I am not as good as an old vegetable gardener.' When Fan Chi left, the Master said, 'What a small man Fan Xu is! If the sovereign loves the rituals, the people dare not be irreverent; if the sovereign loves righteousness, the people dare not be disobedient; if the sovereign loves truthfulness, the people dare not be dishonest. In that case, people from other states will flock to him with their children swaddled on their backs. What need is there for farming?'" *Lunyu,* ch. 13, no. 4, in Huang, trans., *The Analects of Confucius,* 133.

16. "When one chants the poems and reads the writings of the ancients, how can one help but know them as men? And thereby one can judge the age in which they lived." *Mencius,* "Wan Zhang xia," no. 8, modified from D.C. Lau, trans., *Mencius,* 237.

17. "I have not had the good fortune to have been a disciple of Confucius. I have learned indirectly from him through others." *Mencius,* "Li Lou xia," no. 22, D.C. Lau, trans. *Mencius,* 181.

18 This is the painter normally called Wu Daoxuan 吳道玄 or Wu Daozi 吳道子. The Yuan printed edition of *Xuanhe huapu* (*Ying Yuan Dade ben Xuanhe huapu*) consistently substitutes the character *yuan* 元 for the character *xuan* 玄. For example, the two painters listed in chapter three as Zhang Yuan and Cao Zhongyuan are otherwise known as Zhang Xuan and Cao Zhongxuan.

# Chapter One

## Prefatory Explanation for Daoist and Buddhist Subjects

"Set your heart on the Way, depend on its virtue, rely on humaneness, and communicate through the arts."[1] The arts, then, were not forgotten by those who set their hearts on the Way, but still they did no more than to communicate through them. Painting is also one of the arts, and [an artist] can enter [the Way] through skill, to the point where you cannot say if the art has become the Way or the Way has become the art. For instance, the carving of musical instruments by Carpenter Qing and the hewing of wheels by Wheelwright Bian were considered worthy by the people of the past.[2] In this way, paintings that depict Daoist and Buddhist icons and the manner and appearance of the gentlemen of the Ru school cause men to revere [the gods] and look up to [the sages]. If any of these created forms gives rise to enlightenment, can this be called a minor benefit? This is why the Three Teachings are included here in the category of Daoist and Buddhist subjects. Forty-nine men have been chosen from among the famous painters of Daoist and Buddhist subjects from the Jin and Song up through this dynasty. From Jin and Song come Gu [Kaizhi] and Lu [Tanwei], while from Liang and Sui come Zhang [Sengyou] and Zhan [Ziqian]. In their day, each, "though one of a kind, stood far above the crowd."[3] With regard to the Tang, it may be said that Wu Daoyuan had no rival, and perhaps there was none among the ancients either. In the Five Dynasties period, Cao Zhongyuan out-stripped those of earlier generations. With regard to the painters of this dynasty, they put to shame the men of the Jin and Song periods. For example, when the Daoist

Li Derou painted gods and immortals, he captured the ethereal and the corporeal, and he was especially famous in his day for his superb application of colors. As for Sun Zhiwei and the generation who "had the wind under them like that,"[4] and for others who were by no means bad, if you look for them in this *Catalogue,* you should find their notices, where there are summary records for those who are well known today. As for Zhao Yi and Gao Wenjin, they were also quite famous for Daoist and Buddhist subjects. However, Yi studied [the style of] Zhu You like "a servant girl aping her mistress … because her behavior is embarrassingly unpolished, in the end, there can be no resemblance."[5] Wenjin was a man of Shu, and though people generally consider Shu painters to have established their own traditions, his was a false reputation.[6] So this *Catalogue* has eliminated them.

## Daoist and Buddhist Subjects, One, including the Three Teachings, Master Zhong Kui, and Demons and Gods

Jin
    Gu Kaizhi
Song
    Lu Tanwei
Liang
    Zhang Sengyou
Sui
    Zhan Ziqian, Dong Zhan
Tang
    Yan Lide, Yan Liben, Zhang Xiaoshi, Fan Changshou, He Changshou, Yuchi Yiseng

Gu Kaizhi, whose style name was Changkang and whose childhood name was Tigerhead, was a man of Wuxi, in the Jinling area.[7] In the Yixi period, he held the post of Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary.[8] Kaizhi was broadly learned, with talent and style, and he grasped the subtleties of "the reds-and-blues."[9] People of the time said he had "Three Perfections": perfection in painting, perfection in foolishness, and perfection in talent. In his day he was appreciated by Xie An, who said that since the beginning of the human race, there had been nothing like his [paintings].[10] Each time Kaizhi completed a portrait, sometimes for several years he would not dot in the pupils. When people asked the

reason, he answered, “The beauty or ugliness of the members of the body actually is not where success lies. What conveys the spirit and portrays the likeness lies precisely in these [dots].”[11] Once, when he painted a portrait of Pei Kai, he added three hairs to the cheek, and those who saw it felt the divine spark was superb.[12] Further, when he rendered a portrait of Xie Kun amidst rocky crags, he said, “This gentleman ought to be placed amidst hills and streams.”[13] He wanted to paint Yin Zhongkan, but Zhongkan had eye trouble and firmly refused. Kaizhi said, “Sir, this is just because of your eyes, but if I were to dot in the pupils clearly, then sweep ‘flying white’ brushstrokes over them, it would be like light clouds veiling the moon. Wouldn’t that be good?” Then Zhongkan went along with it.[14] Once at Waguan Monastery, in the north hall, he painted [an image of] Vimalakīrti. He was about to complete it by dotting in the pupils when he said to one of the monks, “In less than three days, the amounts donated by those who come to see this will reach a million [cash].” And it came to pass like that.[15] The line in Du Fu’s poem about Waguan Monastery —“Tigerhead’s image of the Golden Grain Tathagata”—is a reference to this.[16] Kaizhi’s contemporaries considered his natural genius outstanding, without compare, and his marvelous creativity ethereal and subtle.[17] Even Xun [Xu], Wei [Xie], Cao [Buxing], and Zhang [Sengyou] could not come abreast of him.[18] Xie He held the opinion that “his painting did not express his ideas, and his reputation surpassed the reality.”[19] What did he know of Kaizhi?![20] Unhappily, nowadays one rarely sees his paintings. This is because Kaizhi was intensely secretive and grudging of his own works. For example, he once sent a box of paintings [to be stored] at the home of Huan Wen, only to have Wen steal them.[21] Thus, the paintings by Kaizhi that circulate in the world are rarely seen. At present, there are nine works kept in the palace storehouses:[22]

*The Layman of Impeccable Reputation,* one picture[23]
*Three Celestial Maidens and Beauties,* one picture[24]
*Yu of Xia Controlling the Waters,* one picture
*Huang Chuping Herding Sheep,* one picture[25]
*Ancient Worthies,* one picture
*Spring Dragons Emerging from Hibernation,* one picture
*The Admonitions of the Court Instructress,* one picture[26]
*[Dai Kui] Smashing His Qin,* one picture[27]
*Herding Sheep,* one picture

Lu Tanwei was a man of Wu. Good at painting, he served in attendance on Emperor Ming, where his skill at “the reds-and-blues” was praised by

everyone. His achievements are given a general description in the *History of the Song Dynasty*.[28] People say that painting has Six Laws and that since antiquity few have been able to follow them all. Yet Tanwei fulfilled the laws completely.[29] "Investigating the principles of things to plumb their natures, his painting exhausted words and images. Pregnant [with the art] that came before him, he gave birth to those who came after. From antiquity to the present day, he stands alone."[30] "Like the milfoil and the tortoise [methods of divination], [his painting served as] a scale and a mirror [which reveal the truth about things and people]."[31] Critics have all classified and ranked Gu [Kaizhi], Lu [Tanwei], and [Zhang] Sengyou. Some compared them in terms of calligraphy: Gu and Lu were like Zhong [You] and Zhang [Zhi], while Sengyou was Yishao [Wang Xizhi], which acknowledges the common substance of calligraphy and painting.[32] It has also been said, "Zhang attains the flesh, Lu attains the bones, Gu attains the spirit."[33] By "flesh" is meant the surfaces, by "bones" is meant the depths, and by "spirit" is meant the spark. Are there no differences between surface, depth, and divine spark? Although Tanwei was placed between the other two, if we collect everything said by the men of the past and put it together, his "attaining the bones" was enough to make the spiritual depths understood. How can it not be better to put Gu Kaizhi ahead and appropriate to put Lu Tanwei slightly after him? Yet if we did not compare him with Gu and discussed him alone, would he then not surpass all others? Of all the paintings Tanwei did in his lifetime, what he most loved to depict were portraits of ancient sages and worthies, and he devoted himself to it.[34] In recent times, Mi Fu enjoyed discussing painting, and he once said, "[Figure paintings] that are clear and easy to recognize are those by Gu, Lu, and Master Wu."[35] Isn't this true? [Lu's] two sons, Suihong and Suisu, were trained in the family tradition and while they were skilled at painting, they never lost the habits of their [childhood] experience, and though they amply exhibited their father's style, in the end they were unable to come up to him.[36] Zhang Yanyuan said, "The forms [Lu Sui created] and their [sense of] movement were vigorous and active, and his pause-turns and down-pressing strokes had the force of the wind. Every dot and every sweep of his brush movements were fresh and unusual."[37] Certainly this is uncommon! Yet if one is able to paint but does not devote oneself to it, then works in circulation will be few.[38] Once, [Lu Sui] painted an *Icon of Śākyamuni* on hemp paper, which was prized by his contemporaries.[39] Because hemp paper has a loose surface that drinks up the ink, it does not allow much movement of the brush, so if painters consider this a difficult [painting surface], then the thing ought to be praised. Hong and Su carried on their father's trade, and they practiced what they saw and heard, but as often happens to those

who are competent without attending to study, though their names are recorded in catalogues and records, their paintings are not in circulation.[40] How could they fail to be eclipsed by their elders? At present, there are ten works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Amitāyus Buddha,* one icon
*Buddha Mural,* one picture[41]
*Mañjuśrī Descending to the Soul,* one icon[42]
*The Layman of Impeccable Reputation,* one icon
*The Lokapāla Vaiśravaṇa,* one picture
*The Lokapāla of the North Gate,* one picture
*Lokapālas,* one picture
*Wang Xianzhi,* one image[43]
*Five Horses,* one picture
*The Bodhisattva Maricī,* one icon[44]

Zhang Sengyou was a man of Wu.[45] In the Tianjian period, he served in official posts as General of the Right and Governor of Wuxing, and he was famous in his day for his painting. After Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty sent all the princes to live outside court [in their own fiefs], he longed to see their faces, so he sent Sengyou riding in a government carriage to depict them and return. [For the emperor], facing these [portraits] was like seeing the men. In the Cypress Hall of the Tianhuang Monastery in Jiangling, Sengyou painted images of Rocana and Confucius. When Emperor Ming saw them, he found it strange that Confucius was mixed up with a Buddha, so he asked Sengyou about it.[46] Sengyou replied, "On another day, this will prevent a disaster."[47] Further, he once painted four dragons at the Anle Monastery in Jinling, but he did not dot in the pupils, saying that as soon as he dotted them, they would ascend, prancing, and depart. People considered this boastful, so they repeatedly asked him to dot in the pupils. As a result, he applied the ink, but after doing just two dragons, as expected, there was thunder and lightning and the cracking of walls, and when they looked at the painting again, they were already gone! All that remained were the two dragons without the pupils dotted in. His contemporaries said of Sengyou's painting that the extraordinary and unique structure and personality [seen in figures by] Master Zhang was a result of his patterns and models being ample and untrammeled. He fulfilled the Six Laws perfectly and completely. He ought to be in the running with Gu and Lu.[48] Sengyou painted many Buddhist pictures, probably because Buddhism was much favored during the reign of Emperor Wu. For the same reason, Sengyou's paintings usually followed

what was in favor at the moment. At present, there are sixteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Buddha,* one icon
*Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva,* three icons
*Great-Power Bodhisattvas,* one icon[49]
*Vimalakīrti Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Ten Disciples of Buddha,* one picture
*Sixteen Luohans,* one icon
*Ten Eminent Monks,* one picture
*The Nine Luminaries,* one icon[50]
*Saturn,* one icon
*Lokapālas,* one icon
*Guardians,* one icon
*Scrubbing the Elephant,* one picture[51]
*The Bodhisattva Maricī,* one icon
*True Forms of the Five Planets and the Twenty-Eight Constellations,* one picture[52]

Zhan Ziqian lived through the Northern Qi, Zhou, and Sui dynasties, and in the Sui he was made a Grand Master for Closing Court.[53] As for the terraces and pavilions he painted, although he lived at the same time as Dong Zhan [sic], he failed to spy out any of his magic secrets.[54] He was especially skilled at the topography of rivers and mountains, both distant and near, so a few inches [of painting] had the feel of a thousand *li.* The monk [Yan]cong said, "Whenever Ziqian was stimulated by things to indwell his temperament [in paintings], they were always extraordinary and marvelous."[55] His ability to paint forms that are difficult to describe is rather the same as that of the poet. At present, there are twenty works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Northern Culmen Patrolling the Ocean,* two pictures
*Shi Le Asking about the Way,* one picture[56]
*Vimalakīrti,* one icon
*Lotus Sutra Tableau,* one picture
*Vaiśravana,* one picture
*Picking Melons,* one picture
*Holding a Falcon,* one picture
*Figures in Old Stories,* two pictures
*Men and Horses,* one picture
*Men Riding Horses,* one picture

*Carrying Peddle-Bows on a Horse-Riding Outing,* one picture
*Ten Horses,* one picture
*Houzhu of Northern Qi Gracing Jinyang,* six pictures[57]

Dong Zhan's style name was Boren, and he was a man of Ru'nan.[58] He was praised in his hometown for his talent at art, and he was called Wisdom Ocean. In official position, he reached [the prestige title of] Grand Master for Splendid Happiness and [the post of] Palace General.[59] He excelled at painting, and since he imitated no earlier master, he never felt mortified by any earlier worthies. When famous older masters saw [his paintings, their faces were] drained of color. Yet because he lived in a place of level plains, [his paintings] were not helped by [seeing actual] rivers and mountains, and since war horses were his neighbors [i.e., he lived in a time of dynastic turmoil], he lacked any knowledge of the ceremonies and rituals at court. It was not that his [paintings] failed at these things, rather it was because he could only practice his local style and customs. Boren and Zhan Ziqian were equally famous in their day, but where Dong produced the subtle, Zhan attained the noble. Zhan never got Dong's terraces and pavilions, while Dong lacked the strong points of Zhan's paintings of carriages and horses.[60] Thus Dong's view of Zhan was rather like that of the poets Li [Bai] and Du [Fu].[61] The *Tableau from the Daoist Classics* that Zhan produced was especially praised in his day.[62] If he had not had experience outside of painting—scooping up skills through contact with the spirit realm by having the dream of Huaxu and roaming with magicians—how could he have achieved this success?"[63] At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Tableau from the Daoist Classics,* one picture

Yan Lide attained the official post of Minister of Works.[64] His father Pi was famous in the Sui dynasty for "the reds-and-blues." Together with his younger brother Liben, he grasped the subtleties of the family style. During the Zhenguan era of the Tang dynasty, Xie Yuanshen of the Eastern Man came to court.[65] In a memorial, Yan Shigu said, "In antiquity, during the time of King Wu of the Zhou dynasty, the distant nations submitted tribute, and these events were collected in the *Pictures of Royal Audiences.* Today, those who wear grass clothes and bird ornaments all congregate at the inns for the southern barbarians, so we could actually take down their likenesses in a picture." So the emperor ordered Lide and others to draw them. The way they lined up in order, walked properly in the bent posture [used at court], and straightened their hat-pins and held

up their ceremonial *hu* tablets [like Chinese officials], in contrast to their strange and outlandish appearance and their noses, through which they drink, and their bobbing heads—not a hair of it did he fail to provide. Thus, Li Sizhen said, "Between Da'an and Boling, it is hard to regard one as the elder brother and one as the younger."[66] This refers to Lide and Liben. At present, there are nine works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Most High Picking Lingzhi,* one icon[67]
*The Seven Luminaries,* two pictures
*Traveling Lokapālas,* two pictures
*What Horses Know How to Do, from Master Zhuang,* one picture[68]
*Youjun Wielding the Brush,* one picture[69]
*Poetic Intent of Shen Yue's "Lake Geese,"* two pictures[70]

In the first year of the Zongzhang era, Yan Liben, as Grand Executive Attendant of the Ministry of Works, was appointed a Director of the Right, such was his talent for managing administration.[71] He was as famous for his ability at painting as his older brother Lide, but Liben was particularly skilled at form-likeness. In the early Tang, Emperor Taizong and his attendant officials were boating on a pond in the spring garden when he saw a strange bird bobbing on the waves. He took particular delight in its colors. He ordered those seated with him to compose poems on it, and he called for Liben to depict it. Outside the hall [where he worked], [the servants] called out for "Painting Master Yan Liben." At that time, Liben had already been made Director of the Bureau of Honors. As he prostrated himself at the side of the pond and ground and rubbed his pigments of red and white, he turned his head to look at those seated [with the emperor], and he began to sweat from shame. When he returned home, he admonished his sons, saying, "When I was young I studied, and in literary composition, I was not inferior to my companions. Now, simply because I have a reputation for painting, I follow behind with the unranked servants! You must take care never to practice [the art of painting]." However, if it's your nature to love a thing, though you may want to give it up, you won't be able to. Since he was made Director of the Right, and Jiang Ke was selected to serve as Director of the Left because of his victories in battle, the people of the time ridiculed them with: "The Director of the Left 'extended his power over the desert,' while the Director of the Right 'is celebrated for his "reds-and-blues."'"[72] He was once commanded to paint a portrait of Emperor Taizong, and later some skilled painters copied it at Xuandu Belvedere.[73] Conveying his air of the great stabilizing mountains of the realm, it allowed one to look reverently

at the heroic majesty of the divine warrior.[74] He also depicted groups such as the Eighteen Scholars of the Prince of Qin and the Meritorious Officials of the Lingyan Hall.[75] They all reflected the ages past, and the people of the time praised their excellence. He once did a picture called *Drunken Daoists,* which some compared to Zhang Sengyou's picture of *Drunken Monks*.[76] Once Liben saw a painting by Zhang Sengyou in Jingzhou, and he said, "This is certainly a false reputation." The next day, he went again [to see it] and said, "Still, this is an excellent hand for modern times." The next day, he went again and said, "Under his reputation was no mere pretender." He went on looking at it, sitting and reclining, unable to depart.[77] This is like Ouyang Xun looking at the stele by Suo Jing.[78] With regard to the story about Liben warning his sons not to practice painting because they had called for the "Painting Master" outside the hall, Zhang Yanyuan said of [Wang Xianzhi's response to Xie An's] poor comparison to the story of Emperor Ming of the Wei ordering Wei Dan to inscribe the placard on the Pavilion of Ascending Clouds he raised: weren't the words [of Wang's reply to Xie] perceptive?[79] What is more, Dai Andao smashed his *qin* to keep from becoming a royal musician, while Ruan Qianli, to satisfy his guests, [played his *qin*] all day without tiring. A critic considered Andao to have been a far cry from Qianli.[80] This is like the "Yuyang Drumroll"—in truth, could it humiliate Mi Heng?[81] At present, there are forty-two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Three Pure Ones,* one icon
*Primordial Beginning,* two icons[82]
*The Most High Traveling and Teaching,* one icon
*The Most High Transmitting the Teachings,* one icon
*The Most High Dwelling in the Mountains,* one icon
*The Four Masters of the Most High,* one icon[83]
*The Scripture of the Most High's Ascension to the West,* one[84]
*Bowing to the [Northern] Culmen,* one picture
*Jade Morn, Lord of the Way,* one icon
*The Heavenly Worthy of Extending Longevity,* one icon
*The Heavenly Worthy of Wood Grain,* one icon
*The Emperor of the North,* one icon
*Twelve Perfected Lords,* one icon
*Vimalakīrti,* two icons
*Peacock Vidyā-rāja,* one icon
*Guanyin Responding to Faith,* one icon
*The Five Planets,* two icons
*Venus,* one icon
*The Constellation "House,"* one icon

*The Twelve Gods,* one amulet
*Confucius,* one icon
*The Sedan Chair,* one picture[85]
*Wang Youjun,* one portrait
*Dou Jiande,* one picture[86]
Sketch-copy of *Li Simo,* one portrait[87]
*The Meritorious Officials of the Lingyan Hall,* one picture
*Wei Zheng Offering Admonition,* one picture[88]
*Assessing the Seal on "Flying Money,"* one picture[89]
*Winning the Contest,* two pictures[90]
*The Western Regions,* two pictures
*Bringing Tribute,* two pictures
*Treasures Gathered from Foreign Countries,* one picture
*A Lion Brought as Tribute,* one picture
*Scrubbing the Elephant,* one picture
*The Great Emperor, the Northern Polestar of Purple Tenuity,* one icon
*Chaos Primordial Supreme Virtue August Emperor,* one icon

Zhang Xiaoshi served as a Cavalry Commandant and was good at painting.[91] Because he had once died and come back to life, his paintings of hell tableaux were especially skillful, and since these were based on what he had seen in his journey to the netherworld, nothing imagined could compare with them. After Wu Daoyuan saw his paintings, he imitated them in his hell tableaux.[92] *Huaping* says, "The bulk of Xiaoshi's works have merit, but they are by no means all perfect. His hell tableaux, however, were praised and respected by all the greats."[93] That is why it was acceptable for Daoyuan to copy them. Because, however, "prodigies, feats of strength, disorders, and spirits" are things the Sagely Man did not talk about, naturally, the paintings in which Xiaoshi uniquely recorded his journey to the underworld have not circulated.[94] At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Icon of the Most High Transmitting the Teachings*

Fan Changshou's hometown is unknown.[95] He studied the painting of Zhang Sengyou. Because he knew their customs and fashions, he could paint farmers and the agricultural seasons and fully express the feeling. When it came to the topography of mountains and rivers, [with their] winding bends and [distinctions of] front and back, as well as the disposition of near and far, they were all [rendered] logically. The movements and attitudes of his oxen and sheep at pasture and his

chickens and dogs around the houses, whether they were eating grass or drinking water, were all lifelike. People said he could overtake Sengyou.[96] In his day, he was extremely famous. He had a government position as Education Commandant.[97] At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Drunken Daoists,* one picture
*Drunken Perfected Ones,* one picture

He Changshou studied the methods of the same teacher with Fan Changshou.[98] Therefore their paintings were very much of the same type. Although they were two streams from the same source, the critics listed him after the other. As for comparing the two, their fame was equal. Early on, *Drunken Daoists* pictures done by both He and Fan circulated in the world, but since art lovers put the name of Zhang Sengyou on them, it is necessary to have someone who can discriminate between them. At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Morning Star,* one icon
*Perfected Officers of the Five Marchmounts,* one icon

Yuchi Yiseng was a barbarian from the country of Tokhara.[99] His father was Bazhina.[100] At the beginning of the Zhenguan era, because he was good at painting, Yiseng was recommended by his country to go to the capital, where he was granted a position in the Imperial Bodyguard and enfeoffed as a Commandery Duke. People of the time called Bazhina "Yuchi Senior" and Yiseng "Yuchi Junior" because both father and son had such skill in "the reds-and-blues" that people had to use "Yuchi Senior" and "Yuchi Junior" to distinguish them. Yiseng once painted an icon of the Thousand-Armed-and-[Thousand]-Eyed [Guanyin] Defeating Mara on the front of the pagoda of the Cihui Monastery, which at that time was called an extraordinary work.[101] Naturally, the clothing and hats on his figures looked nothing like the fashions in the capital. Though his success in brushwork was compared to that of [Yan] Liben, Liben's paintings of foreigners were better than those from ancient times,[102] while no one has heard of Yiseng painting figures of Chinese people.[103] By means of this critique, differences in quality are brought out.[104] At present, there are eight works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Maitreya Buddha,* one icon
*Buddha Assembly,* one picture

*Buddhist Followers,* one icon
*Foreign Buddhist Followers,* one picture
*Greatly Compassionate,* one icon[105]
*Vidyā-rājas,* two icons
*Figures of Foreigners,* one picture

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1. Confucius, *Lunyu, Shuer* (no. 7), *Shisan jing,* 2:2023. These words also open the Preface to Guo Xi's *Lofty Message of Forests and Streams* (*Linquan gaozhi*), published in 1118. See Guo Xi, *Linquan gaozhi,* in Yun Gao, ed., *Songren huaping* (Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 1999), 1–2.

2. The anecdote concerning Carpenter Qing comes from Chapter 19, "Mastering Life," in *Zhuangzi:*

> Woodworker Ch'ing carved a piece of wood and made a bell stand, and when it was finished, everyone who saw it marveled, for it seemed to be the work of gods or spirits. When the marquis of Lu saw it, he asked, "What art is it you have?"
>
> Ch'ing replied, "I am only a craftsman—how would I have any art? There is one thing, however. When I am going to make a bell stand, I never let it wear out my energy. I always fast in order to still my mind.... My skill is concentrated and all outside distractions fade away. After that, I go into the mountain forest and examine the Heavenly nature of the trees. If I find one of superlative form, and I can see a bell stand there, I put my hand to the job of carving; if not, I let it go. This way I am simply matching up 'Heaven' with 'Heaven.' That's probably the reason that people wonder if the results were not made by spirits."

From Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 205–206.

The philosophy of Wheelwright Bian is found in Chapter 13, "The Way of Heaven:"

> "When I chisel a wheel, if the blows of the mallet are too gentle, the chisel slides and won't take hold. But if they're too hard, it bites in and won't budge. Not too gentle, not too hard—you can get it in your hand and feel it in your mind. You can't put it into words, and yet there's a knack to it somehow. I can't teach it to my son, and he can't learn it from me.... When the men of old died, they took with them the things that couldn't be handed down."

From Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 152–153.

3. From Mencius's description of Confucius as at the top of the category of men. See *Gongsun Chou shang* chapter, in Lau, trans., *Mencius,* 67.

4. This is intended to suggest the greatness of Sun and his cohort by allusion to the colossal Peng bird in *Zhuangzi:* "If the wind is not piled up deep enough, it won't have the strength to bear up great wings. Therefore, when the Peng rises ninety thousand *li,* he must have the wind under him like that." From "Free and Easy Wandering," Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 30.

5. Zhao Yi (10th c.) is listed in *Tuhua jianwen zhi* (hereafter THJWZ) as a painter of Daoist and Buddhist subjects, where Guo Ruoxu asserts that Zhao was inferior to his model, Zhu You. See Soper, *Experiences,* 71–72. Yu Jianhua identified the origin of the

"servant girl aping her mistress" comparison as coming from Yuan Ang (461–540), *Gu jin shu ping*: "Yang Xin's calligraphy is like a servant girl aping her mistress: she cannot take her place because her behavior is embarrassingly unpolished, and in the end, there can be no resemblance." See Yu, *Xuanhe huapu,* 22n10.

6. See Soper, *Experiences,* 51–52, where Guo says Gao (ca. 950-after 1022) was held in special esteem by Emperor Taizong of the Song and students in the Painting Academy modeled themselves on him. Liu Daochun, in his *Songchao minghua ping* (ca. 1057) (hereafter SCMHP), says Gao was an official in the Painting Academy, much favored by Emperor Taizong and Zhenzong. See Charles Lachman, trans., *Evaluations of Sung Dynasty Painters of Renown: Liu Tao-ch'un's Sung-ch'ao minghua p'ing* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1989), 41–42. For collected material on Gao, see Chen Gaohua, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1984), 204–208.

7. This entry is derived from the treatment of Gu Kaizhi (ca. 344–406) in LDMHJ, ch. 5. See LDMHJQY, 280–295. For citations for Gu Kaizhi in other pre-modern texts, see Yu Jianhua, *Zhongguo meishujia renming cidian* (hereafter ZGMSJRMCD) (Rev. ed. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu, 1987), 1544. For extracts from texts on Gu, see Chen Chuanxi, *Liuchao huajia shiliao* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1990), 111–131. Biography in Fang Xuanling (579–648), *Jin shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 92.2404–2406.

8. For this title, see Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), no. 4834.

9. "The reds-and-blues" (*danqing* 丹青), meaning the painting pigments of cinnabar and azurite, is a common metonym for the art of painting. I translate it literally here to differentiate it from *hua* 畫, meaning "to paint" or "a painting," and to follow the usage of other translators of Northern Song texts on painting, such as Soper and Lachman. See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 18n7.

10. This comment by Xie An (320–385) is found in Richard B. Mather, trans., *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World,* by Liu I-ch'ing; with commentary by Liu Chün. 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 2002), 393.

11. Adapted from Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü,* 395.

12. The story of Pei Kai (237–291) is found in Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü,* 394.

13. Xie Kun (280–322) is also known as Xie Youyu. See Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü,* 395.

14. From Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü,* 395. Gu served as an aide to Yin (d. 399/400) when he was governor of Jing Province between 392 and 399.

15. All the anecdotes told here are found in Zhang Yanyuan's entry on Gu Kaizhi, but this one is particularly garbled and only relays the punch line of the story. For the full anecdote, see Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:45.

16. Golden Grain Tathāgata was one of Vimalakīrti's titles in a previous incarnation. See *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism,* buddhism-dict.net/ddb/, accessed 11/2/2015. In Du Fu's poem sending off Xu Bashe to Jiangning, he wrote: "In Tigerhead's image of Golden Grain, the divine spark is singularly hard to forget." See Peng Dingqiu (1645–1719), ed., *Quan Tang shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), 225.2414.

17. Zhang Yanyuan attributes this statement to Li Sizhen (act. 689–696). See LDMHJQY, 288.

18. For Zhang, see below in this chapter; for Wei and Cao, see chapter 5. No works by Xun Xu (d. 289) are listed in the *Catalogue,* but see his entry in LDMHJ, ch. 5; LDMHJQY, 269–271.

19. In his *Guhua pinlu,* Xie (act. ca. 500–ca. 535) ranked Gu in only the third class, adding this comment. For this, see Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 1:18–19.

20. Although this sounds like an original comment, it echoes various earlier critics' disagreement with Xie He's harsh assessment of Gu Kaizhi. See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:45–46.

21. In Zhang Yanyuan's telling of this story, the thief is the father of Huan Wen (312–373), Huan Xuan (369–404). A fifth-century source tells it this way: "Once he sent a chest of paintings to Huan Hsüan, all of them his best work which he deeply treasured and was loathe to part with. He had sealed it tightly shut with a label in front. Huan accordingly opened the rear of the chest and removed the paintings, and after properly resealing it, returned the chest to Ku. When the latter saw that the label was still intact as before but the paintings were nowhere to be seen, he promptly exclaimed, 'My wonderful paintings, being imbued with magic, have become transmuted, and have departed like men ascending to be immortals!'" See Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü,* 393–394.

22. I interpret *yufu* 御府 ("Palace Wardrobe," in Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 8129) here as synonymous with *neifu* 內府 ("Palace Treasury") and *neizangku* 內藏庫 ("Palace Storehouse"), but I put "palace storehouses" in lowercase to indicate a broad and inclusive sense of all the buildings in the palace where paintings might be stored. See Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 4175 and 4276.

23. This is an epithet of Vimalakīrti, the wise layman who is the protagonist of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra.* See Burton Watson, trans. *Vimalakirti Sutra* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

24. A picture by Gu Kaizhi called *Three Celestial Maidens* was attested by Zhang Yanyuan. See LDMHJ, ch. 5; LDMHJQY, 291.

25. The story of the shepherd Huang Chuping, who left his family to follow a Daoist master, is told by Ge Hong (283–343). See Robert Ford Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth: A Translation and Study of Ge Hong's Traditions of Divine Transcendents* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 309–310.

26. This is generally believed to refer to the painting now held by the British Museum. See, for example, Shane McCausland, *First Masterpiece of Chinese Painting: The Admonitions Scroll* (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 95. See also Shane McCausland, ed., *Gu Kaizhi and the Admonitions Scroll* (London: British Museum Press, 2003).

27. Reading *po* 破 ("smash") for *zhuo* 斫 ("chop"). For this story, see the Yan Liben entry below in this chapter.

28. This statement comes from Zhang Yanyuan, but there is no biography of Lu Tanwei (d. ca. 485) in the current version of *Song shu.* See LDMHJQY, 333 and 333n3. For other citations, see ZGMSJRMCD, 976, and Chen, *Liuchao huajia shiliao,* 208–216.

29. This is the opinion of Xie He, in his *Guhua pinlu* and quoted in LDMHJ. See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts* 1:4; LDMHJQY, 332–333.

30. Quoting from Xie He's entry on Lu Tanwei in *Guhua pinlu.* See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 1:6–7.

31. Zhang Yanyuan is quoting Li Sizhen. See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:103.

32. Zhong You (ca. 163–230) and Zhang Zhi (d. ca. 192) were famous and highly influential calligraphers of the Eastern Han dynasty (25–220). Wang Xizhi (303–361) was the Eastern Jin-dynasty aristocrat who is generally considered the most celebrated calligrapher of all time.

33. Both statements are from Zhang Huaiguan's lost work *Hua duan,* quoted in LDMHJ. See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:104; LDMHJQY, 334–335.

34. A long list of such pictures is found in his LDMHJ entry; see LDMHJQY, 335–339.

35. In his *Huashi,* Mi (1052–1107) wrote: "What is clear and easy to recognize are figure paintings by Gu, Lu, Master Wu, and Zhou Fang." See Mi Fu, "Huashi," in *Songren hualun,* annotated and translated into modern Chinese by Xiong Zhiting, Liu Chenghuai, and Jin Wude (Changsha: Hunan meishu, 2000), 148, and Nicole Vandier-Nicolas, *Le Houa-che de Mi Fou (1051–1107), ou, Le carnet d'un connaisseur à l'époque des Song du nord* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1964), 90.

36. Zhang Yanyuan calls Lu Tanwei's sons Lu Sui and Lu Hongsu. See LDMHJQY, 339–341; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:112–113. This critical assessment appears to be a recasting of the comment attributed to Yao Zui (535–602) by Zhang Yanyuan. See LDMHJQY, 340.

37. Zhang (ca. 815–ca. 875) says he is quoting Xie He. See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:112.

38. This is a recasting of the last sentence of the comment Zhang Yanyuan attributes to Xie He; see LDMHJQY, 340.

39. LDMHJ lists a portrait of Zhou Panlong (5th c.) on hemp paper and a *Śākyamuni* image by Lu Sui, which seem to be conflated here. See LDMHJQY, 340.

40. This seems to be taken from the assessment of Lu Su (also called Lu Hongsu) by Yao Zui. See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 1:50–51.

41. Reading *yindi* 因地 here and throughout as "mural." For example, Zhang Yuangan (1067–1143) comments on a *Mural of Buddhist Patriarchs* by Li Gonglin, using the term *yindi,* and describes the painting as done on a wall. See Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 485–486.

42. In 1297, Wang Zhi brought a picture with this title to Zhou Mi. It had an inscription by Emperor Gaozong (r. 1127–1163) on it. See Ankeney Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record of Clouds and Mist Passing Before One's Eyes: An Annotated Translation* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 74.

43. Wang Xianzhi (344–388) was a son of Wang Xizhi and a famous calligrapher on a par with his father.

44. A picture with this title, attributed to Lu Tanwei, was known in early Yuan times and said to bear impressions of Emperor Huizong's seals and an inscription by him in gold ink. See Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record,* 132.

45. See ZGMSJRMCD, 865, and Chen, *Liuchao huajia shiliao,* 264–274.

46. "Emperor Ming of the Liu Song dynasty" (r. 465–472) must be a mistake for Emperor Wu of Liang, since Emperor Ming lived well before Zhang's time.

47. Zhang Yanyuan provides the finale to this story: During the Northern Zhou persecution of Buddhism under Emperor Wu (r. 561–578), this hall alone was preserved at this monastery thanks to the presence of the image of Confucius. See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:174.

48. Recast from Li Sizhen, as quoted by Zhang Yanyuan: "The extraordinary and unique structure and personality [seen in figures by] Master Zhang was a result of his teachers and models being ample and extensive. Why would he merely fulfill the Six Laws perfectly and completely, when actually he was marvelous in every possible category?" See LDMHJQY, 396.

49. The *Scripture for Humane Kings* (*Renwang jing*) promises that kings who support Buddhism will have their states protected by five great-power bodhisattvas. See

Charles D. Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom: The* Scripture for Humane Kings *in the Creation of Chinese Buddhism* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 117.

50. These are the nine celestial bodies of Indian astronomy, depicted anthropomorphically: sun, moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Rāhu (the spirit that causes eclipses), and Ketu, a comet, or "banner." See *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism,* under "Nine Luminaries," buddhism-dict.net/ddb/, accessed October 28, 2015.

51. "Scrubbing an elephant" (*saoxiang*) is probably a rebus for "sweeping away illusions" (*saoxiang*). See *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850–1850,* ed. Marsha Weidner (Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas; Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), 403–404, where Robin Burlingham suggests the earliest mention of this title is in *Xuanhe huapu*.

52. A picture with this title, attributed to Zhang Sengyou, though plainly a later copy, is in the collection of the Osaka Municipal Museum of Art. See Stephen Little, *Taoism and the Arts of China* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2000), cat. no. 12.

53. Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 334. For citations of texts treating Zhan, see ZGMSJRMCD, 696. Also see Chen Gaohua, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao* (Beijing: Wenwu, 1987), 14–24.

54. Here the authors begin the error of "Dong Zhan," a conflation of the surnames of Dong Boren and Zhan Ziqian, which they take to be the proper name of Dong Boren (see next entry). This may have come from a misreading of Zhang Yanyuan: "Dong and Zhan are ranked the same [Dong Zhan tong pin 董展同品]. Dong got Zhan's carriages and horses, but Zhan didn't get Dong's terraces and pavilions." See LDMHJQY, 419. The authors may have read the first sentence as "Dong Zhan was in the same rank."

55. Yancong, or Xiucong, is the author of *Hou hua lu,* which is quoted extensively in LDMHJ as the words of Monk Cong. As quoted in LDMHJ, he wrote of Zhan Ziqian, "Whenever Ziqian was stimulated by things to indwell his temperament [in paintings], they were always extraordinary and marvelous. He was especially skilled at terraces and pavilions, men and horses, and mountains and rivers, so a few inches [of painting captured] a thousand *li.*" See LDMHJQY, 419. In the modern version of his *Hou hua lu,* however, this reads, "He was especially good at towers and pavilions, and also excelled at men and horses. His distant and near mountains and rivers [gave] a few inches [of painting the feel] of a thousand *li.*" See LDMHJQY, 420n3.

56. Shi Le (274–333) ruled the state of Later Zhao from 319 to 333.

57. Houzhu was Gao Wei, who ruled Northern Qi from 565 to 576. The city of Jinyang was located near the modern city of Taiyuan, Shanxi, and the Jinyang Palace was built in 545 by Gao Huan (496–547) as a summer palace for the rulers of the Northern Qi.

58. This artist's name was Dong Boren, not Dong Zhan. Dong Boren was active in the Sui dynasty; see ZGMSJRMCD, 1225. This entry condenses the entry for Dong Boren in LDMHJ, ch. 8, which includes quotes from Li Sizhen and monk Yancong that are included here; see LDMHJQY, 426–429.

59. ZGMSJRMCD, 1225, gives this title as Dianzhong Jiangjun, or General of the Palace (see Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 6557). These officers were in charge of the military forces in the establishment of the Heir Apparent.

60. This has been changed or misunderstood from LDMHJ, where both Zhang Yanyuan and Li Sizhen say that Dong got Zhan's carriages and horses, but Zhan did

not get Dong's terraces and halls. See LDMHJQY, 428.

61. This appears to be a recasting of Zhang Yanyuan's statement that when Zhan and Dong first arrived at the Sui court, they regarded each other disparagingly, yet later came to appreciate each other's strengths. Zhang likens this to the bad habit of literati regarding each other lightly. See LDMHJQY, 428–429. Du Fu appeared to have admired Li Bai, however, so this may not be the most apt comparison.

62. No praise for Daoist pictures is recorded in LDMHJ, ch. 8, where the list of Dong Boren's works does not include Daoist paintings. See LDMHJQY, 429. His only recorded religious pictures are Buddhist.

63. These are common references to spirit journeys, as originally described in the fourth-century BCE *Liezi.* In the first, the Yellow Emperor travels in a dream to the magical country of Huaxu; in the second, King Mu of Zhou has a daydream in which a magician takes him up into the heavens. See A.C. Graham, *The Book of Lieh-tzŭ* (London: Murray, 1960), 34 and 61–63.

64. Biographies of Yan Lide (596–656) are in Liu Xu (887–946), *Jiu Tang shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 77.2679 and Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072) and Song Qi (998–1061), *Xin Tang shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 100.3941. See also ZGMSJRMCD, 1439; LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 439–440; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 35–73; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 212; and Alexander Coburn Soper, "Yen Li-Pen, Yen Li-Te, Yen P'i, Yen Ch'ing: Three Generations in Three Dynasties," *Artibus Asiae* 51, No. 3/4 (1991):199–206.

65. The following section about Yan Lide's paintings of barbarians appears to have been refashioned from the entry in THJWZ, which may have been taken from *Taiping guangji* (978), ed. Li Fang (925–996) (*Siku Quanshu Wenyuange edition electronic version,* 201.5b-6a), or the text it cites, the anonymous *Tan bin lu.* See Soper, *Experiences,* 74. The description of the barbarians at court at the end, however, is taken from LDMHJ, ch. 9, which quotes Li Sizhen on both brothers. See LDMHJQY, 454.

66. As quoted in LDMHJ, ch. 9; see LDMHJQY, 454.

67. "The Most High" is a shortened form of the Most High Lord Lao (Taishang Laojun); that is, Laozi in deified form.

68. A reference to the "Horses' Hooves" chapter of *Zhuangzi,* in which it is said, in praise of unspoiled nature, "When horses live on the plain, they eat grass and drink from the streams. Pleased, they twine their necks together and rub; angry, they turn back to back and kick. This is all horses know how to do." Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 106.

69. Youjun was a sobriquet of the great calligrapher Wang Xizhi.

70. "Poem on Wild Geese on a Lake" (Yong huzhong yan shi), by Shen Yue (441–513), is found in Xiao Tong (501–531), ed., *Wen xuan,* annotated by Li Shan (630–689) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 30.434. On the likelihood of this being a Song-dynasty title, see Alfreda Murck, "The Practice of Titling Paintings," in *Conference on Founding Paradigms: Papers on the Art and Culture of the Northern Sung Dynasty* (Taipei: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 2008), 311.

71. The information that this happened to Yan (d. 673) in 668 comes from his biography in Ouyang and Song, *Xin Tang shu,* 100.3941–42. See also ZGMSJRMCD, 1439, and Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 35–73.

72. This story and the comment appear in Liu, *Jiu Tang shu,* 77.2680. Zhang and Liu explain that the saying was a joking quotation from *The Thousand Character Classic.* See LDMHJ, ch 9; LDMHJQY, 451 and 452n8; Liu, *Jiu Tang shu,* 77.2680. For the line in

*The Thousand Character Classic,* see Francis W. Paar, ed., *Ch'ien Tzu Wen: The Thousand Character Classic* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1963), 25.

73. Xuandu Belvedere was in the Chongye ward of Chang'an. The Yuan edition of *Xuanhe huapu* (*Ying Yuan Dade ben Xuanhe huapu*) calls it Yuandu, since it always substitutes *yuan* 元 for *xuan* 玄.

74. Although this story is found in TCMHL (see Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 212), the source was either *Taiping guangji* (201.6a) or its source, the now-lost, early 8th-century *Huaduan* of Zhang Huaiguan. *Xuanhu huapu* copies the 'five' inserted between 'nine' and 'mountains' found in *Taiping guangji,* but not in TCMHL. I ignore this 'five' and read 'nine mountains' as 'the great mountains of the realm.'

75. When Emperor Taizong was Prince of Qin, these men staffed his Institute of Literature. Yan Liben's pictures were inscribed with the titles by Chu Liang. In the seventeenth year of the Zhenguan era (642), Emperor Taizong ordered Yan Liben to depict twenty-four heroes of the Taiyuan Uprising and the officials of the establishment of the Prince of Qin in the Lingyan Hall. The emperor composed encomia for each, which were inscribed in the hall by Chu Suiliang. These pictures are described at length in LDMHJ, ch. 9; see LDMHJQY, 441–451. See also Anne Burkus-Chasson, *Through a Forest of Chancellors: Fugitive Histories in Liu Yuan's Lingyan ge, an Illustrated Book from Seventeenth-century Suzhou* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010), 52–55.

76. According to THJWZ, ch. 5: "Sengyou also did a picture of 'Drunken Monks,' which is still extant ... The monks suffered so much mockery from the Daoists on this account, however, that finally the brotherhood got together a very large sum of money and asked Liben to do a picture of 'Drunken Daoists.' This also is extant." Amended from Soper, *Experiences,* 75. This anecdote is found in *Taiping guangji* (201.7b), cited as coming from *Guoshi zuanyi* (or *Guoshi yizuan*), which was also known as *Sui Tang jia hua,* a collection of anecdotes, many from the time of Emperor Taizong, collected by the official Liu Su (*jinshi* ca. 742).

77. Also found in THJWZ, ch. 5; see Soper, *Experiences,* 74, and in *Taiping guangji* (201.7b), extracted from *Da Tang xin yu,* written by Liu Su (act. ca. 806–820).

78. The story of Ouyang Xun and the stele by Suo Jing comes from *Sui Tang jia hua* and was copied into *Taiping guangji* (208.7a). It appears in fuller form in the entries for both Ouyang Xun and Suo Jing in Gui Dizi, ed., *Xuanhe shupu* (Changsha: Hunan meishu, 1999), 8.166 and 14.264.

79. See LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 455. The story of the humiliation of Wei Dan (179–251), who was hauled up in a basket to inscribe the placard that was already nailed to the building, was originally told in *Shishuo xinyu,* ch. 21, "Skill and Art." See Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü,* 391. The authors of the *Catalogue* are making reference to another anecdote that utilizes this story, which is discussed by Zhang Yanyuan at the end of his entry on Yan Liben. The translation in Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 87, reads: "I will now comment as follows: Historians of the past have praised Emperor Ming of the Wei for erecting the Pavilion of Ascending Clouds and appointing Wei Dan to inscribe its placard. However, the workmen made a mistake in nailing the placard up first. They had to raise Dan, who was dangling in a basket, some 250 feet above the ground. When he descended, his beard and hair were all white, and only then could he release what breath remained to him. Then, he warned his sons and grandsons against continuing with [their study of] the methods of formal script. Xie An once discussed this affair with Wang Xianzhi, who responded quite seriously: 'Wei Dan was one of the great officials of the Wei. How could there have been such an

affair? If it happened as you related, we may understand why the power of the Wei did not last long.' I feel that Xianzhi's remarks are very perceptive."

80. After the Prince of Wuling heard Dai Andao (Kui, d. 396) play the *qin,* he sent someone to call him to play for him. Kui smashed his *qin* in front of the emissary and said, "Dai Andao is not a royal musician." For his biography, see Fang, *Jin shu,* 94.2457–2459. Ruan Zhan (Qianli, fl. 307–312) was the eldest son of Ruan Xian (234–305), the musician immortalized as one of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove. His biography reported that "Ruan Zhan was good at playing the *qin,* and when people heard of his talent, many came to beseech him to listen. He never asked if they were rich or poor, young or old; he played for them all." See Fang, *Jin shu,* 49.1363–1364. The critic cited here would appear to have been Su Shi because this part of the entry is a paraphrase of his discussion of the issue of Yan Liben's humiliation, employing comparisons with Wei Dan and Ruan Qianli, in his colophon to a painting by Zhu Xiangxian. See I Lofen, *"Xuanhe huapu* yu Su Shi huihua sixiang," in I Lofen, *Chibi manyou yu Xiyuan yaji* (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2001), 125–126.

81. This refers to this anecdote: "Mi Heng was once degraded by Cao Cao to become a drummer. In the middle of the first month, at the time of reviewing the drums, Heng lifted his drumstick and played the 'Yuyang Drum-roll.' *Yuan, yuan!* It rang with the sound of metal and stone, and those seated 'round about were all deeply affected by it … Cao Cao was ashamed, and pardoned him." From Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü,* 30 (changed to pinyin). The point of this anecdote is that although Cao Cao intended to shame Mi Heng, it was Mi who shamed Cao in the end.

82. Also called the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning. See Livia Kohn, ed., *Daoism Handbook* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 244.

83. This may depict figures representing the authors of the important Daoist texts: Laozi (for *Daodejing*), Zhuangzi, Wenzi, and Liezi. This was the curriculum set for Daoist academies by Emperor Xuanzong in 741. See Victor Xiong, "Ritual Innovations and Taoism under Tang Xuanzong," *T'oung Pao* 2nd ser. v. 82, fasc. 4/5 (1996), 263. See also Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 93n7. Or it may represent a different set of deities and texts, who were given new titles in 733: Zhuangzi, Wenzi, Liezi, and Gengsangzi; see Liu, *Jiu Tang shu,* 24.926. The subject of the painting seems anachronistic in any event.

84. Since there is no measure-word given, I assume this was a single illustrated scripture. A three-chapter version of this text, called *Xishengjing,* or Ascension to the West, with notes by Emperor Huizong, is in *Zhengtong Daozang* (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1962) ch. 346–347. See https://ctext.org/library.pl?if=gb&res=84346&by_collection=132. Accessed 10/23/2018.

85. This is possibly the model for the later copy now in the collection of the Beijing Palace Museum.

86. Dou was a rival general in the wars that ended the Sui dynasty and began the Tang; he was defeated and killed by Li Shimin, later Emperor Taizong of Tang.

87. Li was a Tuque Khan, who was captured in early Tang times. Emperor Taizong liked him and gave him the royal name.

88. Wei Zheng (580–643) was Emperor Taizong's trusted advisor.

89. "Flying money" was a form of paper notes, introduced by Emperor Xianzong (r. 805–820), due to a shortage of bronze, for traveling merchants to use. One checked the seal on the paper note to see if it was genuine. See *Zhongwen dacidian,* rev. ed., 10 v. (Taipei: Huagang, 1973): 10:44974.297.

90. The title is literally *Quxing* 取性, but since these characters do not yield a word

in any dictionary I have consulted and retrieve no entries in a search of the online *Siku quanshu* database, I guess the authors meant *qusheng* 取胜, which would mean *Winning the Contest.* The painting may represent a chess game or some other activity such as cock-fighting.

91. See ZGMSJRMCD, 824; LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 457; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 225.

92. LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 457. See also Dong You, *Guangchuan huaba jiaozhu,* ed. Zhang Ziran (Zhengzhou: Henan daxue, 2012), 1:28–29.

93. *Huaping* probably indicates Yancong's *Hou hua lu.* In the current version, it says, "The icons he produced had merit, and it was said they were perfect. The appearance of his demons and gods was acclaimed by all the greats." See *Tang Wudai hualun,* He Zhiming and Pan Yungao, eds. (Changsha: Hunan meishu, 1997), 3.

94. The Sagely Man is Confucius, of whom it was said, "The Master never talked of prodigies, feats of strength, disorders or spirits." See *Lunyu,* Shuer chapter, ch. 7, no. 20, in Arthur Waley trans., *The Analects* (Changsha: Hunan People's Publishing House, Foreign Languages Press, 1999), 71.

95. ZGMSJRMCD, 639; LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 458. Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 74–76. Zhu Jingxuan says he served at the beginning of the dynasty; see Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 222.

96. This entry is a modification of the entry for Fan in TCMHL. See Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 222.

97. This title, *siren xiaowei* 司人校尉, is not found in Hucker's *Dictionary of Official Titles.* Both LDMHJ and TCMHL give other titles for this post. It may have been a military prestige title.

98. ZGMSJRMCD, 251; LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 458–459; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 74–78; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 222. He Changshou worked on the Jing'ai Monastery project of around 665. See LDMHJ, ch. 3, and Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 1:328–329.

99. Also read Weichi Yiseng. See ZGMSJRMCD, 794; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 29–34; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 213–214; LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 459–460.

100. Given a brief entry in LDMHJ, ch. 8. See LDMHJQY, 434.

101. "Cihui Monastery" should probably be Cien Monastery, in Chang'an, and these were likely two separate murals. According to TCMHL, Yuchi painted a "Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed Greatly Compassionate One" on the pagoda on Cien Monastery, while a "Subjugation of Māra" scene was done for the Guangze Monastery. See Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 212–213.

102. This assessment was actually made of Yan Lide's work, in TCMHL. See Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 212.

103. What Zhu Jingxuan wrote is: "I do not suppose that Yan ever attained his highest capacities in painting foreigners, and have never heard that Weichi did any Chinese figures." Amended from Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 214.

104. This sentence appears to be an allusion made by Zhang Yanyuan to the comparison of painting styles of the father and son. See LDMHJQY, 459.

105. Likely an image of Guanyin; that is, Avalokiteśvara as Greatly Compassionate.

# Chapter Two

## Buddhist and Daoist Subjects, Two

Tang

Wu Daoyuan, Zhai Yan, Yang Tingguang, Lu Lengqie, Zhao Deqi, Fan Qiong, Chang Can, Sun Wei, Zhang Nanben, Xin Cheng, Zhang Suqing, Chen Ruoyu, Yao Siyuan

Wu Daoyuan, whose style name was Daozi, was a man of Yangdi.[1] His original name was Daozi. He was orphaned young and grew up poor. When he traveled to Luoyang, he was unsuccessful at studying calligraphy with Topsy-turvy Zhang and He Zhizhang, but subsequently gained skill at painting.[2] Even before attaining the age of majority, he fully grasped its subtleties, as though it were awakened in his nature, not something arrived at by copious study. At first, he served as Defender of Xiaqiu in Gunzhou, but then Emperor Minghuang[3] heard of him and called him to serve at court, where his name was changed to the present one, and Daozi became his style name. From that moment on, his name was known throughout the realm. He mainly took as his model Zhang Sengyou, and there were those who said he was a reincarnation of him.[4] Yet it is doubtful that Sengyou could reach his variety of imagery and his peerless creativity. Painting has its Six Laws, and Gu Kaizhi is praised for ability in them all. When Kaizhi painted the neighbor girl and then stuck a thorn in her heart [in the picture], that caused her to cry out.[5] When Daozi painted a donkey on the wall of a monk's cell, all night the sounds of something walking on the rush mats and smashing things could be heard.[6] When

Sengyou dotted in the eyes of the dragons he had painted, to the sounds of thunder and lightning, the wall cracked, and they flew away. Daozi painted dragons with scaly armor that seemed to move in flight. Whenever it was about to rain, a mist would arise from them.[7] Since Gu topped those who came before, and Zhang surpassed all who came later, and Daozi combined the [strengths of] both, how did he regard himself? In the Kaiyuan period, General Pei Min was in mourning for his mother. He asked Daozi to paint some demons and gods at the Tiangong Monastery in order to earn good fortune for her in the next life. Daozi told Min to remove his mourning clothes and put on his military attire. Astride his horse, he brandished his sword in a dance, charging, wheeling, and stopping short. His appearance was heroic and magnificent, and the onlookers, who numbered in the thousands, were all terrified and awestruck.[8] After Daozi "took off his robes and stretched out his legs,"[9] he employed the spirit [of Min's performance] to form the conception of his painting. He began to paint as suddenly as a wind springing up, creating the most magnificent sight in the realm. When Cook Ding carved an ox and Wheelwright Bian hewed a wheel, they both used skill to enter the Way.[10] When Topsy-Turvy Zhang witnessed Lady Gongsun dance the Jianqi, his cursive script became marvelous.[11] Daozi's approach to painting was simply the same. Further, how could someone who was able to ask the valiant general [to perform the dance] in such a heroic manner be an ordinary person? And if [Zhang] threw back strong drink every time he wielded the brush, how is this different from composing literature? Truly, the most important thing is the spirit. For example, what about [Wu] painting the halo after [finishing the figure] by drawing it with a swing of the shoulder and completing it in a single stroke?[12] When [something causes] the onlookers to cry out and the whole town to be amazed, isn't it marvelous? It is common for people to credit what they hear and disregard what they see with their own eyes, so as highly as people of his own day revered him, haven't those of later generations done so even more? A critic said that in High Tang, "the apogee in literature was attained by Han Yu, in poetry by Du Fu, in calligraphy by Yan Zhenqing, and in painting by Wu Daoyuan. They were the most capable throughout the realm."[13] His best-known works were his Hell Tableaux. Viewers grasped the idea that deeds done in another life receive recompense on earth and deeds done on earth receive their reward in the afterlife. Because his scenes of aristocratic youth wearing shackles and fetters [in hell] could not be described or discussed at the time, now one can only use reason to investigate them. As for his various other works, they are cited in stories and biographical records, which have just been summarized here with the intent of recording only those that are

generally the most famous. When Daoyuan served at court, he was a Palace Erudite, and he painted only by order of the emperor. He held the post of Companion to the Prince of Ning.[14] At present, there are ninety-three works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Heavenly Worthy,* one icon
*The Heavenly Worthy of Wood Grain,* one icon
*Emperors of Successive Dynasties Offering Homage to the Primordial,* one picture
*Buddha Assembly,* one picture
*Tejaprabhā Buddha,* one icon
*Amitābha Buddha,* one icon
*Tathāgatas of the Three Directions,* one icon
*Vairocana Buddha,* one icon
*Vimalakīrti,* two icons
*The Peacock Vidyā-rāja,* four icons
*The Precious Sandalwood Flower Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Guanyin Bodhisattva,* two icons
*Pensive Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Precious-Seal Bodhisattva,* one icon[15]
*Maitreya Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Greatly Compassionate Bodhisattva,* three icons
*Samyak-sambodhi Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Wish-Granting Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Two Bodhisattvas,* one icon
*Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Dizang,* one icon
*Indra,* two icons
*The Lord Sun God,* one icon
*Morning Star,* one icon
*Venus,* one icon
*Mars,* one icon
*Rāhu,* one icon[16]
*Ketu,* one icon
*The Five Stars,* five icons
*The Five Stars,* one picture
*The Twenty-Eight Constellations,* one icon
*Stūpa-Holding Lokapāla,* one picture
*Dharma-Protecting Lokapālas,* two icons
*Lokapāla Traveling,* one icon
*Cloud-Canopied Lokapāla,* one icon
*Vaiśravana Lokapāla,* one icon

*Lokapāla Coming with a Stūpa,* one icon
*Lokapālas,* five icons
*Guardians,* two icons
*Great Dharma-Protecting Deities,* fourteen[17]
*Good Deities,* nine icons[18]
*The Six Jia Deities,* one icon[19]
*Deva and Nāga Guardian Generals,* one icon
*The Dragon King Manasvin,* one icon[20]
*The Dragon King Vāsuki,* one icon
*The Dragon King Utpalaka,* one icon
*The Dragon King Upananda,* one icon
*The Dragon King Takṣaka,* one icon
*Sandalwood [Image] with Lakṣaṇa and Mudrā,* two pictures
*The Śāla Trees,* one picture[21]
*Ratnasambhava, Tathāgata of the South,* one icon
*Madhura-svara-nirghoṣa, Tathāgata of the North,* one icon

When Zhai Yan was young, his master was Wu Daoyuan.[22] Whenever Daoyuan finished drawing the lines for a painting and was about to leave it, he usually ordered Yan to fill in the colors. The divine spark in figure painting can only be achieved by subtle gradations of light and dark [color]. Daoyuan generally found his work acceptable, which shows that Yan's abilities were not average. Since Yan applied the colors and [re-]drew the lines, it is not easy to distinguish the genuine Daoyuan from the false. At present, there are four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Heavenly Worthy Saint,* one icon
*The Most High,* one icon
*The Peacock Vidyā-rāja,* one icon
*Lokapāla,* one picture

Yang Tingguang was a contemporary of Wu Daoyuan.[23] He was good at portraying Buddhist icons and sutra depictions.[24] Additionally, he was skilled at other categories of painting, including landscape, in all of which he exhausted their subtleties. People of the time said he really had the style of Master Wu. However, his brushwork was thinner, so in this they were not the same. In the end, this thinner brushwork is what made him inferior to Master Wu. At present, there are fourteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Medicine Master Buddha,* one icon

*Five Esoteric Tathāgatas,* one icon
*Guanyin,* two icons
*Cintā-maṇi-cakra Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Meditating Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Pensive Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Humane King Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Longevity Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Bodhisattva,* one icon
*The Five Planets,* one icon
*Star God,* one icon
*Minghuang and Attendants on an Outing,* one icon
Sketch-copy of *Empress Wu,* one portrait[25]

Lu Lengqie was a man of Chang'an who studied painting with Wu Daoyuan, yet his talent and ability never reached [Wu's].[26] He particularly liked to make sutra depictions. After he went to Shu, his fame increased, and even though he was a celebrity for a time, he was respected by all. Early in the Qianyuan period, he painted *Monks Circumambulating* at the Great Shengci Monastery, for which Yan Zhenqing wrote out the title.[27] These were praised in their day as the "Two Perfections." He also did paintings for the triple-gate of Zhuangyan Monastery, which he personally considered comparable to Wu Daoyuan's murals at Zongchi Monastery. One day, Daoyuan suddenly came upon them, and startled, he said with admiration: "This gentleman's brush strength ordinarily does not equal mine, but here it has come close. This gentleman has exhausted all his vital energies in this work!" A month later, Lengqie actually died.[28] Lengqie mostly painted Buddhist icons, so when Daoyuan praised his paintings as being like his, we know it was not an empty reputation. At present, there are one hundred fifty works kept in the palace storehouses:

*A Perfected One Offering Lingzhi,* one icon
*Śākyamuni Buddha Attaining Enlightenment,* one icon
*Śākyamuni Buddha,* four icons
*Greatly Compassionate Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Guanyin Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Samantabhadra Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Cundī Guanyin Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Luohans,* forty-eight icons
*Sixteen Arhats,* sixteen icons
*Luohans,* sixteen icons

*Sixteen Luohans, Small,* three icons
*Monk Zhisong Crossing the River in a Bamboo Hat,* one icon[29]
*Monks Crossing a River,* two pictures
*Eminent Monks,* two icons
*Eminent Monks,* two pictures
*The Peacock Vidyā-rāja,* one icon
*Sixteen Great Arhats,* forty-eight icons

Zhao Deqi's father Wen was praised by the world for his painting, and Deqi subsequently became an able follower of the family style.[30] His extraordinary works and untrammeled brushwork were much praised by those of his day. In the Guanghua era, an imperial edict permitted Wang Jian to set up a shrine to himself in Chengdu while he was still living.[31] Deqi was ordered to paint the Prince of Xiping with his ceremonial regalia, and he completely captured in every detail the cortege of chariots and banners and the ceremonial guard in tight columns, so strictly correct.[32] Together with his paintings of the imperial consorts, concubines, and palace women on the walls of the Chaozhen Hall, they reached the height of refinement and skill. Emperor Zhaozong was pleased with them and appointed him Painter-in-Waiting in the Hanlin Academy. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Lokapāla Crossing the Ocean,* one icon

Fan Qiong's hometown is unknown.[33] He lived in Chengdu in the time of Chen Hao and Peng Jian, all of whom had gained fame for being good at painting figures, Daoist and Buddhist subjects, and demons and gods.[34] There were many monasteries where these three had worked together to paint the Buddhist icons. During the Xiantong era, he painted *Lokapālas of the North and the East* and *Greatly Compassionate* in the main hall at the Shengxing Monastery, which were very famous at that time. He abandoned his image of Ucchuṣma with the colors half done, but the ink brushwork was so surpassingly excellent that of all the famous artists who came later, none was able to complete it.[35] This is just like the line in the Du Fu poem, "His body is as agile as a lone bird that flies past." The earliest transcription accidentally left out the character *guo,* but the poets of the time who tried to supply the missing word in the end were unable to do so.[36] This shows us that where artistic creativity is unsurpassed, the regular methods of brush and ink may be shed. At present, there are nine works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Three Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water,* three icons[37]
*The Star Gods of the Southern Dipper,* one icon[38]
*Vimalakīrti,* one icon
*Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Lokapāla Descending with a Pagoda,* one icon
Copy of *Feilian, the [Wind] God,* one icon[39]
*Eminent Monks,* one picture

Chang Can was a man of Chang'an.[40] During the Xiantong era, when Lu Yan governed Shu, Can went to Shu, where Yan treated him with every courtesy.[41] Can was good at painting Daoist and Buddhist subjects and figure painting, for which he gained fame in his day. He was good at the robes and caps of high antiquity and did not fall into [depicting] recent customs. The older the costume, the more excellent was his evocation of its style. This is not the sort of thing that a painter-artisan who seeks only for form-likeness can attain. His pictures of that time, such as *Fuxi Drawing the Trigrams, Shen Nong Sowing Seed,* and *Chen Yuanda Admonishing in Chains,* are all marvelous works that have circulated in the world. Arching brows and full faces, songs of Yan and dances of Zhao—such things the senses appreciate, yet they are never seen in his work, for Can only depicted such events as sowing seed and admonishing in chains. He depicted every last detail, with the same intent as the poets of the *Book of Songs,* whose "indirect admonitions [were chiefly noted for their mellifluousness]."[42] It is proper for his paintings to be handed down to later generations. At present, there are fourteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Fuxi Drawing the Trigram Images,* one picture[43]
*Shen Nong Sowing Seed,* one icon[44]
*Buddha Mural,* one picture
*Chen Yuanda Admonishing in Chains,* one picture[45]
Sketch-copy of *Emperor Yizong Hunting Rabbits,* one picture
*Star Officials,* one icon
*The Ten Talents,* two pictures[46]
*Assaying Cinnabar,* one picture
*Figures from Old Stories,* five pictures

Sun Wei was a man of Kuaiji.[47] When Emperor Xizong graced Shu, Wei went to Shu from the capital, where he called himself the Mountain Man of Kuaiji.[48] His behavior was heedless and uncultivated, but his feelings were generous. Though he loved to drink wine, he was rarely seen drunk,

and he took pleasure in his unsullied friendships with recluses. In the Guangqi period, he painted the east wall of the Yingtian Monastery according to a sketch of the *Victorious Lokapāla* that Zhang Sengyou had done at the Gaozuo Monastery in Runzhou.[49] When the painting was completed, with all the lances and halberds carefully drawn and bristling, it was as though one could hear the distant sounds of pipes and drums beating. His falcons and dogs dash forward.[50] His dragons appear and disappear amidst clouds, with a thousand forms and a myriad attitudes, their momentum like flight. Were he not so skilled with brush and ink, were his sensibility not lofty and his style untrammeled, how could he reach this realm? Later he changed his personal name to Yu, but where he died is unknown. At present, there are twenty-seven works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Most High Preaching the Law,* one icon
*The Three Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water,* three icons
*Vimalakīrti,* one picture
*The Three Teachings,* one picture
*Star God,* one picture
*Assembly of Immortals,* one picture
*Old Stories of Immortals,* four pictures
*Eminent Scholars,* one picture
*The Four Hoaryheads Playing Weiqi,* one picture[51]
*Wang Boli,* one picture
Sketch-copy of *Ma Rong,* one icon[52]
Sketch-copy of *Bi Zhuo,* one picture[53]
*Lofty Recluses,* one picture
*Winning the Contest,* two pictures
*Thatched Hut,* three pictures[54]
*Weiqi [Chess],* one picture
*Scrubbing the Elephant,* one picture
*Barbarian Traders,* one picture

Zhang Nanben's hometown is unknown.[55] He was especially skilled at painting Buddhist icons, as well as demons and gods, and he particularly liked to paint fire. Since fire has no fixed form, it is rare to see someone who is capable of painting it. Only Nanben was successful. Once he painted the Eight Vidyā-rājas in the main hall of the Jinhua Monastery in Chengdu. An old monk came to the monastery on a pilgrimage. Straightening his robes, he ascended into the hall, where he saw the fire painted on the walls [surrounding the deities]. He was awestruck by the

leaping flames and so terrified that he nearly fell over. At this time, Sun Wei was famous for painting water, and whenever excellence in the painting of fire and water was discussed, these two alone were praised. Now, since water is likened to the Dao, and fire responds to the spirits, they have deep principles the brush cannot fathom, so they are not easy to depict. He also did some pictures for a Buddhist ceremony at the Baoli Monastery, in which he exhausted his ingenuity.[56] They were later copied and [the copies] secretly switched for the originals, many of which were scattered through the Jinghu area.[57] At that time, pictures of his, such as *Collating Texts, The Poetry Society,* and *The Korean King Making a Ritual Circumambulation with Incense,* were widespread.[58] At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Sketch of Guanyin,* one picture
*Mañjuśrī and Attendants,* one picture
*Collating Texts,* one picture

Xin Cheng's hometown is unknown.[59] That he mostly traveled in Shu is evident from *Yizhou minghua lu*.[60] He was skilled at painting the icons of the Western [Pure Land]. Since he wasn't known for anything else, he was probably a specialist in that subject. Generally, the faces of his Buddhas are merciful and compassionate. Seated cross-legged upon thrones, with their robes falling from a bare shoulder, eyes cast downward and head lowered, like a withered tree or dead ashes, they created the same effect as the [Buddhist] doctrine. Hence he established his own tradition. His [images of] Guanyin of Haizhou and his [portrait of monk] Samgha of Sizhou were marvels of painting skill and largely the basis of his fame.[61] Since he could earn the necessities by them, he felt no need to be good at other subjects. Once Cheng painted Samgha and various sutra depictions at the Dasheng Monastery in Shu, and so many men and women poured out of town and came to view them that there was scarcely any room for the latecomers.[62] This has been perpetuated as a much-told tale by the people of Shu. When "the architect [consults] others along the road," opinions [given by passers-by] will differ.[63] But from the response of the crowd [looking at the murals], it's easy to grasp how successful they were! At present, there are twenty-five works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Buddha,* one icon
*Buddha Assembly,* one picture
*Ratnasaṃbhava Buddha,* one icon
*Āmṛta-tathāgata,* one icon[64]

*Greatly Compassionate Bodhisattva,* two icons
*Guanyin,* two icons
*White-Robed Guanyin,* one icon
*Cintā-maṇi-cakra Bodhisattva,* two icons
*Maitreya Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Humane King Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Precious-Seal Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Precious Sandalwood Flower Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Pensive Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Thoughtful Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Musical Sounds Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Amoghāṅkuśa Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Bodhisattva Attending with Incense,* one icon
*Bodhisattva Offering Flowers,* one icon
*Bodhisattva with Lotus Flowers,* one icon
*Bodhisattva with Incense and Flowers,* one icon

Zhang Suqing was a man of Jianzhou.[65] He was orphaned young and grew up poor. He became a Daoist and enjoyed painting Daoist icons.[66] During the reign of Emperor Xizong, an emissary was dispatched to enfeoff Mount Zhangren with the title "Duke Invisible and Silent." Suqing submitted a memorial that said, "Mount Zhangren is supreme among the Five Marchmounts. If the Five Marchmounts are enfeoffed as Princes, then it is not appropriate to call it a Duke."[67] An edict was issued granting his request, and as a result he was awarded the purple [robe]. Later he did *Icons of the Twelve Perfected Lords,* in which he depicted them variously telling fortunes, selling cinnabar pills, writing out talismans, and practicing breathing exercises. Everyone praised his skill. On the occasion of the birthday of the Shu pretender Wang, An Sijian submitted them.[68] The ruler ordered the Hanlin Academician Ouyang Jiong to compose encomia for them, which were transcribed in the *bafen* script by Huang Jubao.[69] At present, there are fourteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Official of Heaven,* one icon
*The Three Officials,* one icon
*Nine Luminaries,* one icon
*Star of Longevity,* one icon
*The Perfected One Rong Cheng,* one icon[70]
*The Perfected One Dong Zhongshu,* one icon[71]

*The Perfected One Yan Junping,* one icon[72]
*The Perfected One Li A,* one icon[73]
*The Perfected One Ma Ziran,* one icon[74]
*The Perfected One Ge Yuan,* one icon[75]
*The Perfected One Immortal Changshou,* one icon[76]
*The Perfected One Huang Chuping,* one icon[77]
*The Perfected One Dou Ziming,* one icon[78]
*The Perfected One Zuo Ci,* one icon[79]

The Daoist Chen Ruoyu was a man of eastern Shu who learned the secrets of "the reds-and-blues" from his teacher Zhang Suqing.[80] He painted icons of the four lords—azure dragon, white tiger, red bird, and dark warrior—at the Jingsi Temple in Chengdu, for which he became quite famous. The *Sovereign of Eastern Florescence* he painted was especially skillful.[81] Because the Sovereign of Eastern Florescence should be situated in "Arousing" [the east], naturally Heaven will seek and receive "Arousing" [as his eldest son], and this "Arousing" Sovereign will come forth in the position of according with all created things.[82] Were Ruoyu not a Daoist, how could he have comprehended this?[83] It is only fitting that no one before him depicted [this subject]. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Sovereign of Eastern Florescence*

Yao Siyuan was a man of Linquan.[84] He was famous for a time for his Daoist and Buddhist painting. The *Twenty-Four Transformations of Purple Tenuity* that he made awakened ordinary people. They went well beyond the work of an amateur amusing himself by playing with "the reds-and-blues." When painting Buddhist subjects, he often chose to paint murals, which is why his pictures that circulated in the world were rare. At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Buddha Assembly,* one picture
*Peacock Buddha Assembly,* one picture[85]
*Twenty-Four Transformations of Purple Tenuity,* one picture

1. Wu lived from around 685 to 758. Yangdi is in modern Yu County, Henan. The Yuan edition of *Xuanhe huapu* (*Ying Yuan Dade ben Xuanhe huapu*) uses *yuan* 元 for *xuan* 玄. Wu Daozi is called Wu Daoxuan in most Tang-dynasty sources. See ZGMSJRMCD, 306; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 180–220; LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY,

470–472; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 208–210.

2. Zhang Xu (675–759) and He Zhizhang (659–744).

3. The authors invariably refer to Emperor Xuanzong of Tang (r. 712–756) as Minghuang.

4. Zhang Huaiguan, according to LDMHJ, ch. 9. See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:232.

5. This anecdote is from LDMHJ, ch. 5. See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:43.

6. The full story is found in *Taiping guangji* (*Siku Quanshu Wenyuange edition electronic version*), 212.3b, cited from Lu Yan (Tang dyn.), *Lushi zashuo*.

7. See Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 209.

8. This telling of the well-known anecdote appears to derive from the account in Guo Ruoxu's THJWZ. See Soper, *Experiences,* 75.

9. This commonly employed expression comes from *Zhuangzi* and refers to the preparation of a court painter who was declared "a true artist." See *Zhuangzi,* Tian Zifang chapter, Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 228.

10. For Cook Ding, see *Zhuangzi,* ch. 3, "The Secret of Caring for Life." For Wheelwright Bian, see *Zhuangzi,* ch. 13, "The Way of Heaven." Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 50–51 and 152–153.

11. For a translation of Du Fu's poem preface where he describes Zhang Xu's reaction to Lady Gongsun's dance, see Arthur Cooper, trans., *Li Po and Tu Fu* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973), 229–231. Cheng Zai, in LDMHJQY, 472n12, explains "Jianqi" as the name of a dance done by a young woman in men's clothes, with empty hands, not holding a sword, as is commonly supposed from the word *jian* ("sword") in the title.

12. See Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 210.

13. This is a close paraphrase of the opinion expressed by Su Shi, in his colophon "Written following a Wu Daozi Painting." See Su Shi, *Dongpo tiba* 5.95, in *Songren tiba,* 2 v., *Yishu congbian* (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962), 1.22.

14. Li Xian (679–742), eldest son of Emperor Ruizong (r. 684–690, 710–712), was made Prince of Ning when his elder brother Emperor Xuanzong took the throne.

15. According to Suchan and Sørensen, this is a deity only depicted in Sichuan, hence this picture is likely a forgery. See Suchan and Sørensen, "Seal-Bearing Bodhisattvas in the Sculptural Art of Sichuan," 414.

16. Rāhu was the "eclipse deity" of Indian cosmology, while Ketu was called "banner," or a comet. See Jeffrey Kotyk, "Astrological Iconography of Planetary Deities in Tang China: Near Eastern and Indian Icons in Chinese Buddhism," *Journal of Chinese Buddhist Studies* 30 (2017):59–60.

17. Dharma-protectors are lokapālas, of which there are normally four. The character "ten" here, which creates the number fourteen, is probably a mistake for the character *xiang,* or icon, which is missing. It should probably be "Great Dharma-Protecting Deities, four icons."

18. Those beings among the eight classes who support Buddhism; variously said to be eight, sixteen, or thirty-six.

19. In each sexagenary cycle, there are six *jia* days. The Six Jia are Daoist deities who can be summoned for protection and information about the future. See Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth,* 73. Catherine Despeux calls them "junior goddesses of time." See Despeux, "Women in Daoism," in *Daoism Handbook,* Kohn, ed., 387.

20. These five pictures were probably part of a set of eight, the eight dragon-kings named in the *Lotus Sutra*.

21. The Buddha was said to have entered nirvana in a grove of *śāla* trees.

22. This entry is a paraphrase of the one in LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 474–475. For other sources, see ZGMSJRMCD, 1262.

23. This entry is a paraphrase of the entry in LDMHJ, ch. 9; see LDMHJQY, 475–476. By contrast, Zhu Jingxuan wrote that "his strength of brush was not eclipsed by Master Wu's." See Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 225. For other sources, see ZGMSJRMCD, 1187.

24. The words used here, *jing bianxiang* 經變相, appear to be a conflation of *jingbian* and *bianxiang,* both descriptors of religious murals utilized by ninth-and tenth-century critics such as Zhang Yanyuan and Huang Xiufu. *Bianxiang* has been rendered into English as "transformation tableau." This is based on a literal translation of *bian* as "transformation." See Wu Hung, "What Is Bianxiang?—On The Relationship Between Dunhuang Art and Dunhuang Literature," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 52, no. 1 (June 1992):111–192. According to Daniel B. Stevenson (personal communication, May 3, 2017), the Sanskrit term in the Amitābha scriptures that was rendered by early translators as *bian* is more akin to the notions of "display," "depiction," "manifestation," or "performance." Despite the classical defense by Wang Wei of the term *bian* as "transformation" in a spiritual sense, it seems more likely the original idea in the Sanskrit was of a display of figures in a Buddhist scene or story. See Taraneh Aghdaie, "Transforming the Spirit: Wang Wei's Encomium on a Pure Land Bianxiang," MA thesis, University of Kansas, 2017. Hence, I will translate *jingbian* as "sutra tableau" and *bianxiang* as "tableau."

25. Most likely an image of Wu Zetian (624–705).

26. For citations, see ZGMSJRMCD, 1406; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 22; Soper, *Experiences,* 18, 189–190n606; LDMHJ, ch. 9, in LDMHJQY, 476–477. For the anecdote about Lengqie's death, see Alexander C. Soper, "A Vacation Glimpse of the T'ang Temples of Ch'ang-an. *The Ssu-t'a Chi by Tuan Ch'eng-shih," Artibus Asiae* 23, no. 1 (1960):36.

27. This story comes from Huang Xiufu (late 10th c.–early 11th c.), *Yizhou minghua lu* (preface 1006), in *Songren huaping,* Yun Gao, ed. (Changsha: Hunan meishu, 1999), 131. The monastery was in Chengdu.

28. This anecdote quotes from LDMHJ. Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:238–239.

29. Zhisong (d. ca. 439), who lived under the Northern Wei, was also known as Huisong 慧嵩. See Jinhua Chen, "The Indian Buddhist Missionary Dharmakṣema (385–433): A New Dating of his Arrival in Guzang and of his Translations," *T'oung Pao* 90 (2004):246–247, 253.

30. This entry is a paraphrase of the entry in THJWZ, except that the earlier text calls the father Wenqi. See Soper, *Experiences,* 23. The entry for Zhao Wenqi is in Chapter 6. For other citations, see ZGMSJRMCD, 1295; Soper, *Experiences,* 23, 146n347; Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 130–131, 165.

31. Wang Jian (847–918) was the founding ruler of Former Shu (907–925).

32. See Soper, *Experiences,* 133n233, where he identifies the Prince of Xiping as General Li Sheng (728–793).

33. This entry abridges the one in Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 124–125. For other references, see ZGMSJRMCD, 644; Soper, *Experiences,* 24; Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue," 20.

34. Both were active around 836–841.

35. Reading Wusemo 烏瑟摩 as Wuchusemo 烏芻瑟摩, or Ucchuṣma, the Vidyā-rāja who presides over toilets, as an unclean being who makes others clean. See *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism,* buddhism-dict.net/ddb/, accessed 12/9/2015. Up to this point, this entry is a shortened version of the one for Fan in Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 124–125.

36. This refers to an anecdote told by Ouyang Xiu in his *Remarks on Poetry:* "Once, Chen happened to obtain an old manuscript of Du Fu's collection, which was full of lacunae and wrong characters. In the poem "Seeing Off Commandant Cai," the last character was missing from the line that reads, "His body is as agile as a lone bird that ——." One day Chen asked several of his guests to fix the line by supplying the missing word. Someone suggested "swiftly goes." another said "descends," another said "rises," and another said "falls." They could not agree on which was best. Later, Chen got hold of a better copy of Du Fu's works, which had the original complete line, with the character *guo:* "His body is as agile as a lone bird that flies past." Chen sighed with admiration, realizing that although it was a question of just a single word, none of his gentlemen friends were able to equal what Du Fu had written." Translation adapted from Ronald Egan, *The Problem of Beauty: Aesthetic Thought and Pursuits in Northern Song Dynasty China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), 74.

37. According to Susan Huang, the worship of these three "bureaucratic" gods goes back to Han times, while in the fifth century, they converged with the Three Pure Ones and the Three Primes. See Shih-shan Susan Huang, *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Visual Culture in Traditional China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2012), 296.

38. Possibly similar in appearance to *Deities of the Northern Dipper,* although showing six deities instead of seven. See Huang, *Picturing the True Form,* fig. 1.25.

39. Feilian is the Wind God named in the *Lisao* poem in the *Chuci.* For a translation, see *Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South,* trans. David Hawkes (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 28.

40. See ZGMSJRMCD, 802; Soper, *Experiences,* 24; Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 143.

41. Lu Yan lived from 829 to 874.

42. The anonymous *Great Preface* to the *Book of Songs* said the poets' "indirect admonitions were chiefly noted for their mellifluousness," which means they sweetened the instruction with pleasurable aesthetic experience. See Siu-kit Wong, *Early Chinese Literary Criticism* (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co., 1983), 2. Here the idea is that the visual pleasure of studying all the details of the painting will allow the admonitory message to get through.

43. The culture hero Fuxi is credited with many of the inventions of civilization, including the trigram symbols, which are the basis of the divinatory classic *Yijing.* See Sima, *Shiji,* 4.119.

44. Shen Nong, traditionally one of the "Five Emperors" of legendary times, is credited with inventing agriculture. He and Fuxi and the Yellow Emperor are termed the "Three August Ones," according to Sima Qian (see *Shiji,* 1.3). Huang Xiufu, however, in his discussion of the paintings of Chang Can, says there was a set of "Three August Ones" that consisted of images of Fuxi, Shen Nong, and Nüwa. See Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 143. Perhaps these two pictures listed here, of Fuxi and Shen Nong, were part of a set of three pictures, which may have been in the Shu royal collection.

45. No earlier source attributes such a picture to Chang. A picture of this subject,

bearing forged seals of Emperor Huizong, is in the Freer Gallery. See Thomas Lawton, *Chinese Figure Painting* (Washington, D.C.: David R. Godine, in association with Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1973), cat. no. 10, 70–73.

46. According to Yue Ren, these are the ten talented poets of the reign of Emperor Daizong of the Tang (r. 762–780). See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 54n11.

47. This entry abbreviates the one in Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 122.

48. When Huang Chao sacked Chang'an, Emperor Xizong fled to Chengdu.

49. This anecdote is given in THJWZ. See Soper, *Experiences,* 98 and 204n708.

50. At this point in the narrative, Huang Xiufu says Sun's pictures of falcons and dogs were completed with three to five strokes of the brush. See Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 122.

51. Dongyuan Gong, Luli Xiansheng, Qili Ji, and Xia Huanggong were four recluses of the early third to late second century BCE who refused to serve the First Emperor of Qin. Going into reclusion at Mount Shang, they also refused the summons of the first emperor of the Han dynasty. See Alan Berkowitz, "Biographies of Recluses, Huangfu Mi's *Accounts of High-Minded Men,*" in *Early Medieval China: A Sourcebook,* ed. Wendy Swartz, Robert Ford Campany, Yang Lu, and Jessey J.C. Choo (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 343–344.

52. Ma Rong (79–166), a scholar and musician of the Later Han, is considered the earliest of the commentators on the classics and philosophers.

53. A libertine as a youth, Bi Zhuo (d. ca. 329) later served as a high official under the Eastern Jin dynasty.

54. Possibly Du Fu's Thatched Hut, in Chengdu.

55. This entry is a paraphrase of the one for Zhang in THJWZ. See Soper, *Experiences,* 25. For other citations, see ZGMSJRMCD, 835; Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue," 20–21; Soper, *Experiences,* 25; Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 139.

56. This project was for the Water Land Ritual precinct established at the monastery by the local governor. See Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 139.

57. Yun Gao, in Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 141n10, identifies this area as the two Song-dynasty circuits of Jinghu North and Jinghu South, roughly modern Hubei and Hunan. See Tan Qixiang, ed., *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji,* 8 vols. (Shanghai: Ditu chubanshe, 1982), 6:27–28.

58. *Collating Texts* is likely a depiction of the scholars of the Northern Qi dynasty (550–577) collating the classics, as ordered by Emperor Wenxuan in 556. The painting called *Scholars of the Northern Qi Collating Classical Texts,* now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is attributed to Yan Liben.

59. For other sources, see ZGMSJRMCD, 466; Soper, *Experiences,* 26.

60. Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 136.

61. According to Soper, Samgha was a westerner who came to China in early Tang, gained imperial favor, and died around 708. When his ghost appeared in the palace in 780, Emperor Daizong had his portrait painted and offered worship to it. Samgha was also honored by Emperor Yizong in 861. See Soper, *Experiences,* 137n268.

62. Huang Xiufu identifies this monastery as the Great Shengci Monastery in Chengdu. See Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 136.

63. Quotation from the poem "Foreboding" (*Xiaomin*), from the Minor Odes (*Xiaoya*) of the *Shijing.* See Waley, trans., *Book of Songs,* 175.

64. This is probably Āmṛta-rāja-tathāgata 甘露王如來 (Tathāgata Ambrosia King), one of the five wisdom Tathāgatas.

65. Jianzhou is modern Jianyang, Sichuan. This entry abbreviates a longer one on

Zhang in Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 131–132. See also Soper, *Experiences,* 25 and 99, where the entry called *The Eight Immortals* appears to have been taken from *Taiping guangji* (*Siku Quanshu Wenyuange edition electronic version,* 204.5b–6a), which quotes Jing Huan 景煥, *Yeren xianhua* 野人閒話 (*Idle Talk of a Rustic,* preface dated 965), a book that treated gossip at the Meng court of Later Shu (934–965), still extant in the 1080s (Soper, *Experiences,* 99), but now lost.

66. See Evelyne Mesnil, "Zhang Suqing et la peinture taoïste à Shu," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 9 (1996):131–158.

67. Zhangren is the chief peak of the Qingcheng Mountains in Sichuan Province and was considered by Daoists to be one of the Ten Great Grotto-heavens. According to Huang Xiufu, Zhang Suqing lived and practiced Daoist activities there, hence his interest in its status. Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 131.

68. This happened in 954, hence it should be the Later Shu ruler Meng Chang. As this story is told by Huang Xiufu (*Yizhou minghua lu,* 131–132), An Sijian was a collector and patron of artists. After the conquest of Shu by Song, the ruling Song governor Lü Yuqing obtained the twelve pictures and submitted them to the Song throne. The list of the immortals given by Huang Xiufu is the same, except that Ge Yonggui and Su Dan are missing here, so it is possible these ten pictures were from that set of twelve.

69. For Huang Jubao (d. ca. 960), see the entry below. Although Ouyang Jiong (896–971) is here in service to Wang Yan, second ruler of Later Shu, he is given the title that he would later be granted after he submitted to the Song. In THJWZ, this same story is told with regard to portraits of the Eight Immortals. See Soper, *Experiences,* 99.

70. Rong Cheng, or Rong Chenggong, was traditionally held to have been a teacher of the Yellow Emperor. See Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth,* 358–359. He is one of the Eight Immortals of Shu painted by Zhang Suqing, as told in the *Yeren xianhua* anecdote repeated in THJWZ (see Soper, *Experiences,* 99). The others are Dong Zhongshu, Yan Junping, Li A, Zhang Daoling, Li Babai, Fan Changsheng, and Ge Yonggui.

71. Dong Zhongshu was a scholar of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* who served under Emperor Wu of the Western Han (r. 140–187 BCE). He was admired by Daoists for his discussion of Huang-Lao philosophy and yin-yang Five Phases theory. See Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth,* 114.

72. Yan Junping worked as a fortune-teller in the marketplace in Chengdu at the end of Western Han and was a teacher of Yang Xiong. See Nylan, *Exemplary Figures,* 95. See also his entry in Berkowitz, "Biographies of Recluses, Huangfu Mi's *Accounts of High-Minded Men,*" 344.

73. Li A was a Sichuanese Daoist of the Three Kingdoms period. For Ge Hong's biography of Li A, see Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth,* 212–213.

74. According to Yun Gao (*Yizhou minghua lu,* 133n17), Ma Ziran (d. 880) was a Tang prescription-maker, author of a one-volume book called *Spoken Formulas for Gold and Cinnabar* (*Jindan koujue*).

75. This is Ge Xuan, a Daoist alchemist of the Wu state of the Three Kingdoms and great-uncle of Ge Hong. See Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth,* 152–157.

76. This is one of the Eight Immortals of Shu, Fan Changsheng, who was said to have lived as a Daoist recluse in the Qingcheng Mountains in the third century. See *Tuhua jianwen zhi; Huaji,* annotated and translated into modern Chinese by Mi Tianshui (Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 2000), 246n17.

77. See Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth,* 309–310.

78. According to Yun Gao (*Yizhou minghua lu,* 134n17), he was a low-level official in Zhangxian (modern Jiangyou, Sichuan) in Tang times who later achieved immortality at Mount Zhui (modern Zhenjiang County, Jiangsu).

79. A Later Han–Three Kingdoms period Daoist who lived at Mount Tianzhu and was the teacher of Ge Xuan. See Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth,* 279–282.

80. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1011; Soper, *Experiences,* 25; Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 190–191.

81. Since there is no prior record of Chen painting this subject, I suspect the picture listed here may have been submitted, retitled, or reattributed around the time Emperor Huizong dreamed that the Sovereign of Eastern Florescence appeared to him, around 1113. See Zhao Yushi (1175–1231), *Bintui lu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), 1.4.

82. This original passage makes reference to two concepts about the trigram *zhen* ("Arousing") from the *Yijing.* The first is: "All living things come forth in the sign of the Arousing. The Arousing stands in the east." See *The I Ching, or Book of Changes,* trans. Richard Wilhelm and Cary F. Baynes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 268; *Yijing, Shuo gua,* no. 5, in *Shisan jing,* 1:88. The second is: "The Creative is heaven, therefore it is called the father. The Receptive is the earth, therefore it is called the mother. In the trigram of the Arousing she seeks for the first time the power of the male and receives a son. Therefore the Arousing is called the eldest son." See *I Ching,* 274; *Yijing, Shuo gua,* no. 10, *Shisan jing,* 1:88. According to Shin-yi Chao, Huizong was persuaded to abdicate in favor of his eldest son with the suggestion that the Heir Apparent was the reincarnation of the Sovereign of Eastern Florescence, who had come to help the emperor. See Shin-yi Chao, "Huizong and the Divine Empyrean Palace Temple Network," in *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China,* Ebrey and Bickford, eds., 354.

83. Echoing Meng Chang's reported comment about the secret of Zhang Suqing's success: "Were he not an immortal himself, how would he have the stuff to depict immortals?" See *Taiping guangji,* 204.6a.

84. See ZGMSJRMCD, 587. Yao is not listed in any other source.

85. Probably Peacock King, a former incarnation of Śākyamuni.

# Chapter Three

## Daoist and Buddhist Subjects, Three

**Five Dynasties**

Wang Shang, Yan Yun, Zhi Zhongyuan, Zuo Li, Zhu You, Li Sheng, Du Zigui, Du Nigui, Zhang Yuan, Cao Zhongyuan, Lu Huang, Guanxiu

Wang Shang's hometown is unknown.[1] He was skilled at painting Daoist and Buddhist subjects and gentlewomen, and he was particularly excellent at figures of foreigners. He was a contemporary of Hu Yi,[2] both of whom were treated generously by the imperial son-in-law Zhao Yan.[3] Yan's brushwork was ingenious. At that time it was said that all a work had to do was pass his critique to become famous. How could Shang's fame be false when he was treated so generously by Yan? Pictures by Shang such as *Tribute Bearers, Spring Outing,* and *Gentlewomen,* as well as his Buddhist icons, have circulated in the world. At present, there are eleven works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Laozi Going through the Pass,* one picture
*Tribute Bearers,* two pictures
*Offering Tribute,* five pictures
*The Customs of Fulin,* one picture[4]
*Gentlewomen of Fulin,* one picture
*Ladies of Fulin,* one picture

Yan Yun's hometown is unknown.[5] He was skilled at painting lokapālas. His brushwork was modeled on that of Zhou Fang, and he truly grasped its subtleties. Only his *Lokapāla* have been handed down, and no other pictures have been seen. Is it not because during the military conflicts of the Five Dynasties, there were many who worshiped lokapālas,[6] so this is what was valued at that time? A reincarnation of this heroic spirit was seen at Shanyuan,[7] thus showing that the meritorious achievements of lokapālas are not false! It is appropriate for people in our day to revere and worship them. Yun should be honored for establishing his own tradition. At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Lokapāla Traveling,* one picture
*Lokapāla,* one picture

Zhi Zhongyuan was a man of Fengxiang.[8] He was extremely skilled at painting figures. The fact that he pursued subjects he was suited to is revealed in the movements and attitudes [shown by his figures]. He often painted images of Daoists and immortals, and it was thought that he, too, was otherworldly. He also enjoyed making pictures of people playing chess. Since he was not a competent player himself, he had no way of knowing all the effects of the changes of position [on the chess-board]. Yet seated under a pine tree in a grove, his chess players all appear intent. At present, there are twenty-one works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Most High Transmitting the Teachings,* one picture
*The Most High Instructing Yin Xi,* one picture[9]
*The Most High Going through the Pass,* one picture
*The Three Teachings,* one icon
*The Five Planets,* one picture
*Three Immortals,* one picture
*Seven Worthies,* two pictures[10]
*Four Hoaryheads of Mount Shang,* one picture
*Four Hoaryheads Playing Chess,* one picture
*Chess,* one picture
*Chess Match,* one picture
*Chess under the Pines,* two pictures
*Collating Texts,* one picture
*Yao's People Stamping Their Feet,* two pictures[11]
*A Chess Match amid Trees and Rocks,* two pictures
*Chess Matches,* two pictures

Zuo Li's hometown is unknown.[12] He was skilled at depicting Daoist and Buddhist icons, and since he was a contemporary of Zhang Nanben, their brush methods closely resembled each other's.[13] Although it should be easy to attain skill at Daoist and Buddhist figures, since they are not as difficult to understand as the forms of demons and gods and they resemble things customary to us, still their airs and appearances are naturally quite different. Since Daoist figures have the manner of an immortal and the frame of the Dao, they certainly never have the forms of the common people of this dusty world. Since Buddhist figures are benevolent and compassionate, [with bodies like] dry sticks, they lightly float through this world, with a demeanor that covets neither life nor ambition. If [a painter] does not grasp this in his mind, how is it possible to achieve it in the shapes drawn with the brush-tip? Li was particularly skilled at Daoist and Buddhist figures, and he was one whose technique allowed him to enter [the Way] through skill. Images such as his *Twenty-Four Transformations, Sixteen Luohans, Three Officials,* and *Ten Perfected Ones* have been handed down. At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Official of Heaven,* one picture
*Official of Earth,* one picture
*Official of Water,* one picture

Zhu You was a man of Chang'an during the late Tang dynasty.[14] He was skilled at painting Daoist and Buddhist subjects, and he so ingeniously attained Wu Daoyuan's brush methods that no one could easily discriminate between the two. There were murals by You at the Guang'ai Monastery in Luozhong and the Jinzhen Temple in Hezhong fu. All who are skilled at Daoist and Buddhist painting have modeled themselves on Daoyuan, yet those who have "ascended to the hall and entered the inner room" are few. You alone not only attained his skill and creativity, but also occasionally brought out new ideas, with a variety of forms to excite the senses. Wu Zongyuan of our dynasty once saw his murals in Luoyang and said, "In the retinue of Mañjuśrī there used to be a figure of the boy Sudāna. I was so passionately fond of the brushwork that I admired it for over a month, unable to leave. Now because the figure of the boy is no longer there, I believe this painting was also a divinity!" His follower Zhao Yi was also well known at this time.[15] At present, there are eighty-three works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning,* one icon

*The Three Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water,* three icons
*Venus,* one icon
*Jupiter,* one icon
*Mercury,* two icons
*Mars,* three icons
*Saturn,* one icon
*Tianpeng,* two icons[16]
Sketch-copy of *The Stars of the Northern Dipper and the Southern Dipper,* one icon
*Śākyamuni Buddha,* four icons
*Amitāyus,* two icons
*Medicine Buddha,* two icons
*Inquiring about the Illness of Vimalakīrti,* two pictures
*Tathāgatas of the Five Directions,* one icon
*Buddha,* two icons
*Buddha Assembly in Tuṣita,* one picture
*Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva,* four icons
*Mañjuśrī Descending for the Soul,* one icon
*Samantabhadra Bodhisattva,* three icons
*Samantabhadra Descending for the Soul,* one icon
*Vimalakīrti,* two icons
*Guanshiyin Bodhisattva,* three icons
*Bodhisattvas Traveling,* five icons
*Greatly Compassionate,* two icons
*Bodhisattvas with Incense and Flowers,* one icon
*Precious Sandalwood Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Bodhisattva,* two icons
*Indra,* one picture
*Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva,* one icon
*The Western [Pure Land],* one picture
*Gods of the Gates,* four icons
*Dharma-Protecting Divinities,* six icons
*Good Divinities,* seven icons
*Lokapālas,* two icons
*Lokapāla of the North Gate,* two icons
*Lokapāla Holding a Pagoda,* one icon
*Eminent Monks,* one icon
*Hell Depictions,* one[17]

Li Sheng was a man of Chengdu during the end of the Tang dynasty.[18] At first he attained the brush method of Li Sixun, but he surpassed him in clarity and elegance. One day, having obtained a hanging scroll of a

landscape by Zhang Zao of the Tang, he examined it intently for a long time, but then merely put it aside. After this, he set his mind to model himself on Creation. He stripped away his former habits, directing his thoughts toward the composition of his scenes, until he saw the masters of earlier times as "the wind under him."[19] This is like when Han Gan saw the myriad horses in the imperial stables and said, "These are truly my teachers."[20] This was the reason he was able to surpass Cao Ba and all those of his generation.[21] With regard to painting, Sheng understood this completely! The men of Shu also called him Junior General Li. In their day, because Li Zhaodao was the son of Li Sixun, Sixun was called Senior General Li and Zhaodao was called Junior General Li. Now when Sheng became as famous as Zhaodao, he was called by this name.[22] Sheng's brush conceptions were so reserved and quiet that people who obtained his paintings often wrongly identified them as those of the Minister of the Right, Wang [Wei]. At present, there are fifty-two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Most High Picking Lingzhi,* one icon
*The Most High Going through the Pass,* one picture
*The Six Jia Deities,* six icons
*Ge Hong Moving House,* one picture[23]
*Mountains of the Immortals,* one picture
*Stories of the Mountains of the Immortals,* one picture
*Lokapāla,* one icon
*Lokapāla Traveling,* two icons
*Lokapāla Crossing the Ocean,* one icon
*The King of Wu Escaping the Heat,* one picture[24]
*Banquet in the Gallery of the Prince of Teng,* one picture[25]
*The Gallery of the Prince of Teng,* five pictures
*Gathering at Gusu Tower,* one picture[26]
*Palaces for Escaping the Heat,* five pictures
*Escaping the Heat on the River,* one picture
*Figures in Old Stories,* two pictures
*The Pure Joy of Rivers and Mountains,* one picture
*Emerging from the Defile,* one picture
*Distant Mountains,* one picture
*Landscape,* one picture
Sketch-copy of *Greatly Compassionate of Elephant Ear Mountain,* one tableau[27]
*Sixteen Luohans,* sixteen icons

Du Zigui was a man of Huayin.[28] He devoted himself to Daoist and Buddhist subjects, and when he painted a halo that he himself considered successful, it was something no other painter could reach. He often bragged to his peers: "When I fashion a halo, my thoughts roam out over the ocean, and I imagine the sun rising from the Fusang tree, out of the cold watchet sea, and the appearance [of the halo] becomes like this. Thus I have stripped away any ink brushwork, using lovely pale [washes] that leave no trace [of the brush], such that no other can achieve." Critics considered this to be true. Because Zigui had an exceptional command of the techniques of grinding and pointing up [the brush in order to use] pigments of red and white, his paintings in color are uniquely different. At present, there are sixteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Vairocana Buddha,* one icon
*Śākyamuni Buddha,* one icon
*Maitreya Buddha,* one icon
*Greatly Compassionate and Buddha Assembly,* one picture
*Greatly Compassionate,* two icons
*Great Power Vidyā-rājas,* two icons
*Five Tathāgatas,* one icon
*Guanyin,* one icon
*White-Robed Guanyin,* one icon
*Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Cintā-maṇi-cakra Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Precious-Seal Bodhisattva,* one image
*Precious Sandalwood Bodhisattva,* one icon

Du Nigui's forebears were originally men of Qin, but he went as a refugee to Shu, where he served Wang Yan as a Hanlin Painter-in-Attendance.[29] A man of wide learning and a strong memory, lacking no ability, his comprehension of "the reds-and-blues" was such that his success emerged from more than mere thought. He was especially skilled at the faces of Buddhas and figural subjects. In the beginning he followed Chang Can, but later he discarded his old model and established his own tradition.[30] Since his brush methods overpowered those of his peers, Can had no one else to follow in his footsteps. He was famous in his day for the murals he did for the monks' quarters in Chengdu. At present, there are fourteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Three Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water,* three icons
*Buddha Mural,* one picture

*Śākyamuni Buddha,* one icon
*Greatly Compassionate,* two icons
*Peacock Vidyā-rāja,* one icon
*Maitreya Bodhisattva,* one icon
*The Layman Impeccable Reputation,* one picture
*Samantabhadra Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Pagoda-Holding Lokapāla,* one icon
*Good Divinities,* two icons

Zhang Yuan was a man of Mount Shicheng, near Jinshui, in Jianzhou.[31] He was skilled at painting Śākyamuni, and he gained fame for his luohans in particular. Most painters of luohans at that time were interested in the strange and fantastic. Guanxiu, for one, eliminated normal anatomy and physiognomy entirely, while magnifying the strange and fantastic.[32] Those painted by Yuan have the look of the normal world, which is how everyone can tell when the luohans are by Zhang Yuan of Jinshui. At present, there are eighty-eight works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Great Arhats,* thirty-two
*Śākyamuni Buddha,* one icon
*Luohans,* fifty-five icons

Cao Zhongyuan was a man of Fengcheng, in Jiankang.[33] During the time of the Li in Jiangnan, he served as a Hanlin Painter-in-Attendance. In his paintings of Daoist and Buddhist subjects, and demons and gods, he first modeled them on Wu Daoyuan, but he was not successful. So, abandoning his method, he worked in a detailed, tight manner, thereby establishing his own tradition. He was particularly skilled at the application of color and developed his own style. Once he was painting the walls of the upper and lower sites of a Buddhist monastery in Jianye, and though he had worked for eight years, they were still not finished. Li blamed him for the delay and ordered Zhou Wenju to investigate. Wenju reported, "Zhongyuan paints after models from Heaven above, which is nothing the ordinary artisan can achieve. This is why it has been so slow." Only the next year were they finished. Li was particularly generous in favor and support to him. Du Fu's poem says, "Ten days for one stream, five days for one rock; skills such as his cannot be hurried."[34] Truly this is not false. How is this different from Zuo Si taking ten years to write three rhapsodies?[35] Therefore, the painters of old were generally not ordinary men, and their depictions of things often accorded with the imaginations of literary men and talented scholars because their deep and searching

thought was of the same type.[36] In Jiangnan at that time, those who spoke of Daoist and Buddhist painting praised Zhongyuan as pre-eminent and unsurpassable. At present, there are forty-one works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Nine Luminaries,* one icon
*The Three Officials,* three icons[37]
*Buddha Assembly,* three pictures
*Dizang,* one picture
*Śākyamuni Buddha,* two icons
*Amitāyus Buddha,* one icon
*Maitreya Buddha,* two icons
*Fifty-Three Buddhas,* one icon
*Tathāgatas of the Five Directions,* one icon
*Guanyin,* twelve icons
*White-Robed Guanyin,* three icons
*Maitreya Bodhsattva,* one icon
*Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva,* two icons
*Maricī Bodhisattva,* two icons
*Cintā-maṇi-cakra Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Bodhisattva Appreciating a Lotus,* one icon
*Peacock Vidyā-rāja,* one icon
*Greatly Compassionate,* two icons
*Samantabhadra,* one icon

Lu Huang was a man of Jiahe.[38] He was good at figural subjects and mostly painted Daoist and Buddhist figures, the Star Gods, and immortals. Further, he was fond of numbered themes, such as the Three Immortals, the Four Flowing [Types of Qi],[39] the Five Elders,[40] the Six Transcendents,[41] and the Seven Worthies, as well as subjects like Gathering of Immortals at Shanyin and Five Princes Escaping the Heat.[42] There are those who say Huang was especially skilled at depicting farmers, and that when he began to paint, he really had given it no thought, which is something the men of the past never achieved.[43] His farmers and village households were sometimes found in a hillside grove, sometimes placed on open land. He showed plentiful harvests and prosperous times, with an abundance of oxen, sheep, chickens, and dogs. When he did a wedding party with drumming and dancing below the altar of the earth-god, though all would be in some ancient style, it looked true to life. Had he not delved into what is appealing about them, he could not have gotten the meaning across. “Stamping the earth” and “drumming

their bellies"[44] can be depicted as images of Great Peace. It should be noted that a man of old said, "When the rites are lost [at court], seek them amid the countryside," which is certainly applicable here.[45] Though these might be termed farmhouses, they are also capable of benefitting us with their civilizing influence. At present, there are fifty-two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Jade Emperor,* one icon
*The Most High,* one icon
*Official of Heaven,* one icon
*Star God,* one icon
*Roaming Immortals,* one picture
*Constellations,* two pictures
*Daoist and Buddhist Figures,* one icon
*The Sage Confucius,* one icon
*The Four Flowing [Types of Qi],* four pictures
*The Five Elders,* one picture
*The Six Transcendents,* one picture
*Minghuang Banqueting with Music,* one picture
*Playing Music,* one picture
*Brewing Tea,* one picture
*Embroidering,* one picture
*Escaping the Heat at Kaiyuan [Monastery],* three pictures
*The Five Princes Escaping the Heat,* three pictures
*Fire Dragon Brewing Tea,* one picture
*Gathering of Immortals at Shanyin,* four pictures
*Stories of Immortals,* one picture
*Figures from Old Stories,* one picture
*Fisherman's Joy on a Spring River,* two pictures
*Figures Frolicking in the Fields,* one picture
*Water Spirits,* one picture
*Collating Texts,* one picture
*Ancient Trees,* one picture
*Three Immortals Playing Chess,* one picture
*Ge Xianweng Making the Coins Fly out of the Well,* two pictures[46]
*The Perfected Lord Long Life Protector of Fate,* one icon
*The Perfected Lord Determiner of Fate of the Nine Heavens,* one icon
*The Perfected Lord Heavenly Official of Increased Calculation,* one icon
*The Perfected Lord Heavenly Official Enrollment Holder,* one icon
*The Perfected Lord Heavenly Official Difficulty Resolver,* one icon
*The Perfected Lord Official of Fate of the Nine Heavens,* one icon
*The Perfected Lord Deliverer from Difficulty of the Nine Heavens,* one icon

*The Perfected Lord Heavenly Official Grantor of Blessings,* one icon
*The Perfected Lord Heavenly Official Calculations Holder,* one icon

Monk Guanxiu's family name was Jiang and his style name Deyin.[47] He was a man of Lanxi, Wuzhou. He first became known for his poetry, which circulated among the officials. Later he moved to the Two Rivers area,[48] where he was well treated by the pretender of Shu, Wang Yan, who granted him the purple robe and the sobriquet Great Teacher Meditation Moon. He was also good at calligraphy, but though people of the time compared him to Huaisu, not much of his calligraphy circulated.[49] Although he was said to be good at painting, his paintings were also few. Occasionally he would paint the icons of his religion, but he was most famous for his *Luohans*. The pretender of Shu obtained his works and installed them in the palace, where he set up [an altar] for incense and lamps and offered worship before them for over a month. He then instructed the Hanyuan Grand Academician Ouyang Jiong to compose a song to praise them.[50] His luohans were ancient and rustic in appearance, really like nothing in circulation then. They had round chins and knitted brows, with deep-set eyes and high noses. Some had large foreheads and withered necks, as dark as all the different barbarians from the southwest. Viewers always found them startling. He said himself that they came to him in dreams, but he could have been using that to disguise that they were divinely inspired, since their conception is so extraordinary. In any event, he used them [in paintings] that were handed down. At the beginning of the Taiping *xingguo* era, Emperor Taizong ordered a search for old paintings, and since the Shu pretender had submitted to the throne, he gained these *Luohans*.[51] At present, there are thirty works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Vimalakīrti,* one icon
*Subhūti,* one icon
*Eminent Monks,* one icon
*Eminent Monks from India,* one icon
*Luohans,* twenty-six icons

1. According to Yu Jianhua, the given name of Wang Shang (act. ca. 907–923) was Yin 殷, but to avoid the taboo on the name of Zhao Hongyin (899–956), the father of the Song-dynasty founder, the authors changed it to Shang. See ZGMSJRMCD, 101 and 97. See also Soper, *Experiences,* 28, 37, and 87 (under Wang Yin).
2. See his entry in Chapter 8, under Architectural Subjects.
3. See his entry in Chapter 6, under Figural Subjects.

4. According to Yue, Fulin was the coastal area of Western Asia held by the Eastern Roman Empire. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 67n6.

5. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1402; Soper, *Experiences,* 28 and 140n294.

6. Worship of Vaiśravana was widespread at the time, so the reference may be simply to him alone.

7. Shanyuan, in modern Henan Province, was the site of the Song military confrontation with the invading Liao in 1004. The battle resulted in the cessation of military hostilities and the signing of the famous Treaty of Shanyuan. Yue Ren offers the theory that the reincarnation of a lokapāla could refer to Kou Zhun (961–1023), the Song prime minister who led the fight (Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 67n2).

8. See ZGMSJRMCD, 34; Soper, *Experiences,* 30 and 142n307; Niu Jian (act. second quarter of the 11th c.), *Hua ping,* in *Peiwenzhai shuhuapu,* ed. Wang Yuanqi (1642–1715) et al., 5 v. (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1984), 49.8b.

9. Traditionally, Laozi dictated the text of *Daodejing* to Yin Xi, who held the post of Controller of the Pass. See the entries on Laozi and on Yin Xi in Liu Xiang (77–76 BCE), attr., *Liexian zhuan,* in *Le Lie-sien Tchouan,* trans. Max Kaltenmark (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoise, 1987), 60–67.

10. This most likely depicts the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove: Ruan Ji, Xi Kang, Shan Tao, Liu Ling, Ruan Xian, Xiang Xiu, and Wang Rong. See Mather, *A New Account of Tales of the World,* by Liu I-ch'ing; with commentary by Liu Chün (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1976), 371.

11. According to Yue (*Xuanhe huapu,* 69n11), this is a quote from Huangfu Mi's (215–282) lost work, *Annals of the Emperors and Kings* (*Di Wang shi ji*): "Under the reign of Yao, all was at peace, the common people had no political business, and there were fifty old men who stamped their feet on the road." They were stamping their feet to accompany their songs of joy at their peaceful existence. See Ouyang Xun (557–641), ed., *Yiwen leiju* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1965), 11.214.

12. See ZGMSJRMCD, 163; Soper, *Experiences,* 31.

13. In Soper's view, this was an attempt to correct a perceived error by Guo Ruoxu, who pairs Zuo Li with a Zhang Nan, otherwise unknown. Zhang Nanben was a late 9th c. artist (see his entry in ch. 2), so probably not a contemporary of Zuo Li. See Soper, *Experiences,* 144n327.

14. While both Guo Ruoxu and Liu Daochun list him as a Five Dynasties man, Su Shi called him a man of late Tang in one of his poems. See Soper, *Experiences,* 18, 32, 71, and 145n334; Liu Daochun, *Wudai minghua buyi* (dated 1059), in Yun Gao, ed., *Songren huaping* (Changsha: Hunan meishu, 1999), 106; ZGMSJRMCD, 228.

15. The Prefatory Discussion for Daoist and Buddhist Subjects says the *Catalogue* has eliminated him.

16. Tianpeng is one of the Daoist Four Divinities, who serve Purple Tenuity, the North Star. He is a manifestation of the ninth star of the constellation that encompasses the North Pole. See Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 75.

17. Using "depictions" for *bianxiang.* See Yang Tingguang entry in ch. 2.

18. This entry is abbreviated from THJWZ (Soper, *Experiences,* 32), which itself appears to borrow from Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 158–159. See also ZGMSJRMCD, 366; Soper, *Experiences,* 34, 144n328, 145n335, 146n338, 145n350.

19. If he is the giant Peng bird, they are the wind that supports him. See "Free and Easy Wandering," Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 30.

20. See the entry for Han Gan in chapter 13.

21. See the entry for Cao Ba in chapter 13.

22. Mi Fu told of a collector who erased the name of Li Sheng from a landscape of Shu and replaced it with the name of Li Sixun. See Vandier-Nicholas, *Le Houache de Mi Fou,* 61.

23. Ge Hong (283–343) retreated from office and moved to the Luofu Mountains in Guangdong to pursue alchemy and other Daoist practices. See Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth,* 16–17.

24. This may represent King Helü of the Wu Kingdom (r. 514–496 BCE) at Wu Palace, his summer retreat on Mount Lingyan, west of Suzhou. See Olivia Milburn, *Cherishing Antiquity: The Cultural Construction of an Ancient Chinese Kingdom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), 281.

25. The original gallery stood on the bank of the Gan River near modern Nanchang, Jiangxi. This is where a farewell banquet was held at which the Tang poet Wang Bo (ca. 650–ca. 676) wrote "Preface to Ascending the Gallery of the Prince of Teng in Hongzhou Prefecture on an Autumn Day at a Farewell Feast." For a translation, see Timothy Wai Keung Chan, "Dedication and Identification in Wang Bo's Compositions on the Gallery of Prince Teng," *Monumenta Serica* 50 (2002):246–250.

26. Perhaps a picture of King Fuchai (r. 495–473 BCE) of the Wu Kingdom and the beauty Xi Shi at Gusu Tower, which he had built somewhere on Mount Lingyan. It was destroyed in antiquity. See Milburn, *Cherishing Antiquity,* 279.

27. Huang Xiufu records that Li Sheng lived at the Shengshou Monastery in Chengdu for several years at the same time as National Preceptor Wuda (809–881), who was also known as Zhixuan (*Yizhou minghua lu,* 159). According to Suchan and Sørensen, Zhixuan was associated with Elephant-Ear Mountain (Xianger shan) in Meizhou (modern Meishan County, Sichuan), which was known as a cultic center for the worship of the Thousand-Armed Avalokiteśvara. See Zanning (919–1001), *Song Gaoseng zhuan,* ch. 6, in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–1932), 50:2061.743b04–744c14, and Suchan and Sørensen, "Seal-Bearing Bodhisattvas in the Sculptural Art of Sichuan," 412. Hence, this sketch-copy is likely from a mural of that Thousand-Armed Guanyin.

28. Huang Xiufu calls Du (act. ca. 907–925) a man of Chengdu (Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 180–181); THJWZ says he was from Huayang (i.e., Chengdu). See Soper, *Experiences,* 32–33. See also ZGMSJRMCD, 335.

29. Wang Yan (r. 918–925) was the last ruler of Former Shu. This entry abbreviates those from THJWZ and *Yizhou minghua lu.* See Soper, *Experiences,* 33 (under Yigui); Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 161 and 165; ZHMSJRMCD, 342.

30. For the entry on Chang Can, see Chapter 2.

31. The 1303 edition replaces *xuan* with *yuan,* so he is really Zhang Xuan 玄. See Zhang Xuan in ZGMSJRMCD, 816; Soper, *Experiences,* 18, 35, 149n375, 149n368; Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 159.

32. See his entry in this chapter, below.

33. Otherwise known as Cao Zhongxuan 玄. Under that name, see ZGMSJRMCD, 893; THJWZ says he served Li Yu (r. 961–975); see Soper, *Experiences,* 37, 151n385. Liu, *Wudai minghua buyi,* 106–107, says he served Li Jing (r. 943–961).

34. From Du Fu's "Song Playfully Inscribed on a Painting of Landscape (by Wang Zai)." See Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 301–302.

35. Evidently Zuo Si (d. 306) worked on his rhapsodies up to his death. See Mather, *A New Account of Tales of the World,* 127–128.

36. This is a close paraphrase of lines in two poems by Su Shi. See his "Ciyun Wu

Chuanzheng Kumu ge" and "Ouyang Shaoshi ling fu suo xu shi ping," in *Su Shi shi ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 36.1961 and 6.277–278.

37. Niu Jian (act. 2nd quarter of the 11th c.) reported seeing his pictures of the Three Officials and the Tathāgatas of the Five Directions; he also heard about a White-Robed Guanyin painting. See this excerpt from his lost *Hua ping,* in Wang Yuanqi (1642–1715), ed., *Peiwenzhai shuhuapu,* 5 vols. (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1984), 3.49.1280.

38. ZGMSJRMCD, 975; Soper, *Experiences,* 38, 151n392; Liu, *Wudai minghua buyi,* 107–108.

39. The four types of *qi* that should flow together are *yang, yin,* hard, and soft. See "Records of Music" (*Yueji*) in *Liji,* ch. 19, *Shisan jing* 1:831.

40. Yue Ren identifies these as the five planets (*Xuanhe huapu,* 80n4).

41. The Six Transcendents of Bamboo Stream, who drank and lived at Mount Culai, were Li Bai, Kong Chaofu, Han Zhun, Pei Zheng, Zhang Shuming, and Tao Mian. See the biography of Li Bai in Ouyang and Song, *Xin Tang shu,* 202.5762.

42. For the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove, see Mather, *A New Account of Tales of the World,* 371–376. According to Yue Ren, the Five Princes could refer to the brothers of Emperor Xuanzong of Tang or to the five officials who restored Emperor Zhongzong to the throne, who were given the title of Commandery Prince (*Xuanhe huapu,* 80n7).

43. Guo Ruoxu said he would paint without having worked it out in his mind beforehand, which resulted in pictures that were either very good or very bad. See Soper, *Experiences,* 38.

44. Both are signs of harmonious government. In the "Horses' Hooves" chapter of *Zhuangzi,* the happy people of antiquity had more than enough to eat, so they could drum on their bellies. See Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 106. For "stamping their feet," see the note for Zhi Zhongyuan's *Yao's People Stamping Their Feet,* above.

45. This expression is attributed to Confucius in Ban Gu (32–92), *Han shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), 30.1746.

46. As a demonstration of his magic powers, the Three Kingdoms–period Daoist Ge Xuan, great-uncle of Ge Hong, would have someone throw coins in a well. Then he would call the coins to come out, and they would fly back up from the well and into a vessel he held in his hands. See Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth,* 154–155.

47. For Guanxiu (832–912), see ZGMSJRMCD, 946–947; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 85–94; Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 195–196; Soper, *Experiences,* 38, 88, 152n394; Richard M. Barnhart, "Kuan-hsiu," in Herbert Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies,* 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976), 2:55–61; Gui, ed., *Xuanhe shupu,*19:349–350; and Yang Xin, *Wudai Guanxiu Luohan tu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2008).

48. West River and East River were districts in the Qiannan Circuit during the eighth century, which was in present-day Yunnan and Sichuan provinces.

49. This information comes from Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 195, and contradicts what is said of him in Gui, ed., *Xuanhe shupu,* 19:349–350. Huaisu (737–799) was celebrated for his "mad cursive" script.

50. This story is taken from Jing Huan, *Yeren xianhua* (preface dated 965), or from *Taiping guangji,* ch. 214, 1a–b, which quotes from Jing's book. It was extant in the 1080s at least, according to Guo Ruoxu. See Soper, *Experiences,* 99.

51. Huang Xiufu says a set of *Sixteen Luohans* by Guanxiu was submitted by Chen

Gongyu, the Song official in charge of Shu (Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 195).

# Chapter Four

### Daoist and Buddhist Subjects, Four

Song Dynasty

Sun Mengqing, Sun Zhiwei, Goulong Shuang, Lu Wentong, Wang Qihan, Gu Deqian, Hou Yi, Wu Dongqing, Han Qiu, Yang Fei, Wu Zongyuan, Xu Zhichang, Li Derou

Sun Mengqing, whose style name was Fuzhi, was a man of Dongping. He was skilled at painting Daoist and Buddhist subjects, but though he studied [the style of] Master Wu, he was unable to transform it much.[1] Later, as he transferred the designs from Wu's [murals], he grasped his subtleties much better. He could take figures dozens of feet in height that were laid out in an ample space and shrink them to fit into a narrow space, so they were no more than a few inches high, without losing their form-likeness. As with something reflected in a mirror, the proportions were the same. Viewers found it inspired. He was called "Sun, the Mural Peeler" and "Sun, Master Wu." By this one can see his unsurpassed excellence. Still, his handscroll and hanging scroll paintings are very few, and over the long years not all of the pagodas and monasteries [he painted in] have survived. At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Most High,* one icon
*Ge Xianweng,* one icon[2]
*Asking about Chan amid Pines and Rocks,* one picture[3]

Sun Zhiwei, whose style name was Taigu, was a man of Meiyang.[4] His family were originally farmers, but he had Heaven-sent intelligence and was good at painting, even though he had no early training. Pure in heart and having few desires, he floated, airy and graceful, like a true immortal. He did not eat food cooked by women, and those who secretly investigated him could never escape him knowing. He liked to paint Daoist and Buddhist subjects, and his use of the brush was free and untrammeled. He did not follow any earlier man's path in brush and ink. Once he painted *The Nine Luminaries* on a wall of the Shouning Precinct in Chengdu.[5] When he had finished the drawing, he ordered his apprentice Tong Renyi to apply the colors.[6] Among the attendants [of the figure of Mercury] was one holding a crystal vase, to which [Tong] added a lotus flower. When Zhiwei saw it, he said, "That vase is used to control all the waters of the earth. I took it from the Daoist scriptures, but now this addition of a flower—that is a far departure!" This reveals the skill of Zhiwei—how could common painters attain it? The men of Shu especially revered him, and they piled up treasure to get his paintings. Zhiwei often stayed as a guest at monasteries and temples and was well versed in Huang-Lao and Gautama studies. This increased his skill at painting Daoist and Buddhist subjects and made the traces of his brush especially prevalent in the monasteries and temples of Shu. At present, there are thirty-seven works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Tianpeng,* two icons
*Three Officials of Heaven, Earth and Water,* six icons
*The Nine Luminaries,* three icons
*Saturn,* one icon
*Kang,* one icon[7]
*Mars,* one icon
*The Eleven Luminaries,* one icon
*Jupiter,* one icon
*The Five Planets,* one icon
*Star Gods,* two icons
*Fuxi,* one icon
*The Immortal Changshou,* one icon[8]
*Ge Xianweng,* one icon
Sketch-copy of *Master Sun,* one icon
*Vimalakīrti,* one icon
*Mañjuśrī Descending for the Soul,* one picture
*Zhigong,* one portrait[9]
*Lokapāla Crossing the Ocean,* one picture
*Lokapāla Traveling,* one picture

*Roaming Lokapāla,* one picture
*Luohan,* one icon
*Monk in a Patched Robe,* one
*Scrubbing the Elephant,* one picture
*Tigers Fighting in Sand,* one picture
*Tigers Fighting Oxen,* one picture
*Oxen and Tigers,* one picture
Sketch-copy of *Babai's Younger Sister Producing the Yellow Court Scripture,* one icon[10]
Sketch-copy of *Peng Zu's Daughter Paying Homage to the Northern Dipper,* one icon[11]

Goulong Shuang was a man of Shu.[12] Honest, generous, and very careful, he never spoke rashly. He loved "the reds-and-blues" and was fond of doing people from antiquity, generally making them look more rustic than glamorous. Looking at them is like seeing the seal-script designs on ritual bronze vessels from the Three Dynasties and earlier: it makes us sense the common, low quality of recent painting and allows us to understand the concepts of returning to purity and reverting to simplicity. He loved to paint the figures from old stories, and many of his pictures circulated in the world. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Purple Palaces in the Mountains of the Immortals*

Lu Wentong was a man of Jiangnan.[13] He gained fame in his day for painting landscapes, Daoist and Buddhist subjects, and pavilions and terraces. In landscape, he had studied Dong Yuan and Juran, and his *Clearing after Snow on Clustered Peaks* pictures give viewers the feeling of ascending to a height to compose poetry. He was especially skilled at painting Daoist and Buddhist subjects, and all his *Gathering of Immortals* pictures are otherworldly and give viewers the sense they have floated airily up through the clouds. This is the reason his works are so uncommon. At present, there are fourteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Immortals,* four pictures
*Old Stories of the Mountains of the Immortals,* four pictures
*Gathering of Immortals,* two pictures
*Clearing after Snow on Clustered Peaks,* four pictures

Wang Qihan was a man of Jinling, and he served Li Yu, the Pretender of Jiangnan, as a Hanlin Painter-in-Attendance.[14] His paintings of Daoist and Buddhist figures were very imaginative. He loved to do mountain groves, hills and valleys, shadowy caves, and secluded places of divination, all without a hint of the dust-blown world. At the end of the Kaibao era, when Yu "put the jade disc in his mouth" and asked to submit [to Song], a foot soldier named Li Gui entered a Buddhist monastery, where he took sixteen hanging scrolls of *Luohan* painted by Qihan. They were bought at a high price by the merchant Liu Yuansi, transported to the capital, and pawned at a monastery. Later, Yuansi tried to pay off the debt because he wanted to redeem the paintings and take them back, but on the pretext that the debt was overdue, the monks seized them. Yuansi demanded justice at the government offices. At that time [the future emperor] Taizong was in charge of the capital. When he ordered the pictures brought for examination, only a glance caused him to sigh greatly in admiration. He proceeded to retain the paintings and richly rewarded [both sides] to gain their release. Sixteen days later, Taizong ascended the throne, so the pictures came to be called "The Luohans of Destiny." At present, there are one hundred nineteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Most High Transmitting the Law,* one picture
*The Three Teachings [before a] Double Screen,* one picture
*The Sun,* one icon
*The Moon,* one icon
*Venus,* one icon
*Mercury,* one icon
*Mars,* one icon
*Saturn,* one icon
*Rāhu,* one icon
*Ketu,* one icon
*Lord of the Northern Dipper Stars,* one icon
*Birth Star,* one icon[15]
*Longevity Paying Homage to the Primordial,* one picture
Sketch-copy of *Stars of the Southern Dipper,* six icons
*Gathering of Immortals,* three pictures
*Mountains of the Immortals,* one picture
*Buddha,* one icon
*Buddha from a Mural,* one picture
*Buddha Assembly,* one picture
*Śākyamuni Buddha,* two icons
*Medicine Buddha,* one icon

*Greatly Compassionate,* two icons
*Guanyin Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Mahāsthāmaprāpta,* one icon
*Self-Abiding Guanyin,* one icon
*Potalaka Guanyin,* one icon
*Cave-Dwelling Guanyin,* one picture
*Maitreya Bodhisattva,* one icon
*White-Robed Guanyin,* one icon
*Subhūti,* two icons
*Sixteen Luohans,* sixteen icons
*Sixteen Luohans,* ten icons
*Luohans in Mountain Scenery,* two pictures[16]
*Luohans,* two icons
*Luohans Appreciating Lotuses,* two icons
*Cave-Dwelling Luohan,* one icon
*Pindola,* one icon[17]
*Luohans Appreciating a Spring,* one icon
*Eminent Monks,* one picture
*Zhigong,* one icon
*Eminent Monks in a Flowery Cave,* one icon
*Cave-Dwelling Monk,* one
*Eminent Scholars,* two pictures[18]
*Medicine King,* two icons
*Eminent Worthies,* two pictures
*Retired Officials,* one picture
*The Double Screen,* one picture
*Ancient Worthies,* five pictures
*Chess,* one picture
*Qin Gathering,* one picture
*The Qin and the Fishhook,* two pictures[19]
*Lowering the Fishing Line,* one picture[20]
*Pavilion on the Water,* one picture
*Elegant Leisure,* one picture
*Fishing Quietly,* one picture
*The Dragon [King's] Daughter,* one picture[21]
*Seacoast,* two pictures
*Luxuriant Peaks,* one picture
*Lu Yu Brewing Tea,* one picture
*Lingyang Ziming,* one picture[22]
*The Elegant Expositions of Zhi and Xu,* one picture[23]
*Five Worthies of Forests and Valleys,* one picture[24]
*Lofty Gathering at a Forest Pavilion,* one picture

*Gemmy Trees on the Seacoast,* one picture[25]
*Dwelling in Seclusion amid Rivers and Mountains,* one picture
*Gold and Jade Tarn,* one picture[26]
*Landscape in Color,* one picture
*Forested Sandbanks, Distant Peaks,* one picture
*Sixteen Luohans amid Forests and Springs,* four pictures
*King Xiang of Chu Dreaming of the Goddess,* one picture[27]

Gu Deqian was a man of Jiankang.[28] He was good at painting figures and most fond of depicting icons of the Dao. In addition, he was also skilled at animals and plants. A critic said that Wang Wei could not surpass him, although perhaps he gave him too much praise.[29] When he was in Jiangnan, Li [Yu], the pretender of Tang, also said, "Formerly there was [Gu] Kaizhi, and now we have [Gu] Deqian."[30] Although he did not equal Wang or Gu [Kaizhi], still he placed higher than the ordinary rank.[31] His most famous works were horizontal scrolls of *Xiao Yi Seizing the Orchid Pavilion [Preface].*[32] The style was truly distinctive and supported what the critics claimed; however, they have been lost. At present, there are twenty-one works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Most High,* one icon
*The Most High Leaving the Pass,* one icon
*The Most High,* one picture
*The Most High Picking Lingzhi,* one icon
*The Four Masters of the Most High,* one icon
*Picking Lingzhi,* one picture
*Traces of Immortals,* two pictures
*The Goddesses of the Twelve Streams,* three pictures[33]
*Marriage to the Goddess of Dongting,* two pictures[34]
*Herding Oxen across a Stream,* two pictures
*Herding Oxen,* two pictures
*Suckling Oxen,* one picture
*Fish Weaving through Bamboo,* one picture
*Wild Magpies,* one picture
*Cicadas and Butterflies,* one picture

Hou Yi, whose style name was Zichong, was a man of Anding.[35] He was good at painting. During the Duangong and Yongxi periods, he was very famous. He followed Wu Daoyuan in Daoist and Buddhist subjects. His brushwork was pure and ephemeral, and his brush gestures were firm and swift. Vigorous yet refined, adorned yet elegant—his may be called the

ultimate art of the painter. Starting at the age of thirteen, he studied with Inspector Guo. Guo's personal name is lost. After four years, he had so far surpassed Guo in what he studied that, fearful he would eclipse Guo's reputation, he moved to Qinchuan.[36] Some of the many murals he did for monks' quarters in Qinchuan are still extant. At present, there are sixteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Most High Traveling and Teaching,* one icon
*Tianpeng,* one icon
*The Nine Luminaries,* one icon
*Śākyamuni,* one icon
*Vimalakīrti and Mañjuśrī,* one icon
*Dizang Bodhisattva,* one icon
*The Long-Life King Bodhisattva,* one icon[37]
*Inquiring after the Illness of Vimalakīrti,* one picture
Sketch-copy of *Zhigong,* one icon
*Bodhisattva Offering Flowers,* one icon
*The Layman Impeccable Reputation,* one icon
*Lokapāla,* one icon
*Hārītī,* one icon
*Discussion of Merits in the Han Palace,* one picture[38]
*Noblewomen Escaping the Heat,* one picture
*Noblewomen Composing Poetry,* one picture

Wu Dongqing was a man of Changsha.[39] He was skilled at painting figures and best at icons such as celestial deities and Daoist and Buddhist subjects. His composition and brushwork, [no matter] the proportions and size, and [no matter if the lines] were horizontal, raking, bent, or vertical, were always in the right degree. [His figures], whether sitting down or in action, advancing or retreating, facing toward or away, looking up or down, were all carefully thought out. He was especially good at capturing the solemnity of figures of rank and status. He was so famous in his day there were even people making stone engravings [of pictures] under the name of Dongqing to sell [ink rubbings] in the marketplace. Other kinds of painting by him were scarcely heard of, and very few circulated in the world. Only his *Eleven Luminaries* are extant. At present, there are twenty-one works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Sun,* two icons
*Moon,* two icons
*Venus,* two icons

*Jupiter,* one icon
*Mercury,* one icon
*Mars,* one icon
*Saturn,* one icon
*Rāhu,* one icon
*Ketu,* one icon
*Water Spirit,* one icon
*Wisdom Accumulated Bodhisattva,* one image[40]
*Golden Lads Attending with Incense,* one icon
*Jade Maidens Scattering Flowers,* one icon
*Medicine King,* one icon[41]
*Women Poets Reciting Together,* two pictures

Han Qiu 虯 (alternatively Qiu 求), was a man of Shaan.[42] Together with Li Zhu, he studied Wu Daoyuan, and since their later reputations were equal, they were praised together. He excelled at Daoist and Buddhist subjects. Once he did murals at the Longxing Monastery in Shaanjiao,[43] and the frames and physiognomies were nothing like the forms of this world. They revealed a profound grasp of Daoyuan. The world considers Daoyuan an unsurpassed artist when it comes to Daoist and Buddhist subjects, so if a student of his can even slightly "peep through the bamboo fence," they can attain a measure of fame. How much more so ought Qiu, who specialized in the study [of Wu's style], to have entered [the Way] through skill. At present, there are thirteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

Sketch-copy of *The Sun,* one icon
*Mercury,* one icon
*Star Gods,* one icon
*Guanyin,* one icon
*Maitreya Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Bodhisattvas Traveling,* two icons
*Bodhisattvas Offering Flowers,* two icons
*Bodhisattvas Offering Incense,* two icons
*Lokapālas,* one picture
*Eastern Florescence, Controller of Fate, the Perfected One of Jinyang,* one icon

Yang Fei was a man of the capital.[44] After roaming about in Jiang and Zhe, he settled in Huai and Chu. He was good at painting [figures or scenes from] Buddhist scriptures, he studied Master Wu, and he did large icons. Once he made two deities at Puzhao Buddhist Monastery in Sibin, which

both exceeded thirty feet in height.[45] Their torsos were very imposing, awe-inspiring in their grave dignity. He also made *Zhong Kui* pictures, at which he was also skilled. As so many painters recently have done Zhong Kui, the origins [of this theme] have been investigated. Someone said that when Minghuang was ill with malaria, he had a dream in which Zhong Kui danced before him in order to dispel the malaria plague. Afterward, he had his likeness disseminated throughout the realm, and this was the beginning of the Zhong Kui image in the world.[46] If any variations are made when he is painted, his bearing is largely the same, and any minor changes are simply embellishments made by the painters. He also said that once, an ancient stone inscription from the Six Dynasties was found in a ruined tomb, and on it were the characters *Zhongkui,* so perhaps [this name] did not begin in the Kaiyuan period.[47] In the end, there is no way to establish proof. At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Standing Image of Guanyin,* one
*Master Zhong Kui,* one picture

The civil official Wu Zongyuan, whose style name was Zongzhi, was a man of Baipo in Henan[fu].[48] In office, he reached the post of Vice Director in charge of the Section for Forestry and Crafts. Though for generations his family had been scholars by profession, Zongyuan was particularly fond of the practice of "the reds-and-blues." He excelled at Daoist and Buddhist figures, and he was successful at the brushwork of the Cao and Wu styles.[49] His father, Wu Dao, and the Grand Councilor Wang Sui had a long friendship predating their official careers.[50] When Sui beheld Zongyuan, he found him remarkable, and so he gave him his sister's daughter as a wife and used his influence to have him appointed Court Gentleman for Fasting at the Imperial Ancestral Temple. He once painted *Thirty-Six Celestial Monarchs* for the Shangqing Palace in the Western Capital. Among them, he secretly depicted the imperial visage of Taizong on the Celestial Monarch Ruddy Bright Harmony Solar, since Song ruled under the element "fire," which made Ruddy Bright a suitable match. When Zhenzong was returning from performing the sacrificial rites at Fenyin, the road passed through Luoyang, and so he graced the Shangqing Palace. Suddenly he caught sight of the imperial visage and, startled, he said, "This is truly the former emperor." He then ordered that incense be burned as he respectfully bowed before it. Exclaiming over its inspired quality, he stood there for a long time. Zhang Shixun wrote a poem with the line, "Once they burned incense here, moved by the imperial visage,"

which likely refers to this.[51] At the beginning of the [Dazhong] xiangfu era, the Palace of Reflecting and Responding to the Realm of Jade Purity was constructed, and all those who were famous throughout the realm were summoned to paint murals in the halls and the surrounding corridor rooms.[52] Out of the crowd of over three thousand, those favored by selection from among them were just one hundred or so. At this time Zongyuan was made the head, which caused his fame to increase even more, and of his generation, none failed to bow to him. At present, there are fifteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Celestial Worthy,* one icon
*Indra,* one icon
*Immortals with Regalia Paying Homage to the Primordial,* two pictures
*Emperor of the North,* one icon
*Zhenwu,* one icon
*Mars,* one icon
*Saturn,* one icon
*Lokapālas,* one picture
*Guanyin Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Lokapāla Crossing the Ocean,* one icon
*Li Deyi Breaking through Snow to Cross Luling Ridge,* four pictures[53]

The Daoist priest Xu Zhichang, whose style name is Zizhong, is a man of Jianyang.[54] Capable at poetry and good at literary composition, he is thoroughly conversant with the classical teachings of Daoism and Confucianism and their systems of decrees and regulations. He left behind those of his generation and quietly grew old, with the air of a scholar-gentleman. To explain the teachings of Daoism, he would first select a text he had checked against an authoritative version to elucidate errors in the "jasper slip-cases and jade book-boxes," so they were always accurate. When at leisure, he entertains himself by playing the *qin* and brewing tea —truly a scholar of the clergy. When painting the story of an immortal, because he knows the whole story, he positions [all the figures] in proper order, giving them the manner of an immortal and the frame of the Dao, airy and graceful as though about to ascend into the clouds, because he has conceived them so well. Long ago, he had had a chronic illness, but he encountered a stranger from whom he obtained a technique for practicing self-refinement, so without seeking medical help or taking medicine, he was able to extend his life. His white hair and ruddy complexion are the proof. Now he is a Grand Master of the Void[55] and Attendant in Ruizhu Hall.[56] At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

Sketch-copy of *Events in the Lives of Immortals,* one[57]

The Daoist priest Li Derou has the style name Shengzhi.[58] Originally he was a man of Jin in Hedong, but later he moved his dwelling to Xiluo. Once when Derou's grandfather Zonggu was governor of Hanzhou, there was a Daoist master named Yin Keyuan who faced death for violating the law. Because Li delayed in carrying it out, however, Yin was able to escape the sentence of death. Keyuan was quite skilled at "the reds-and-blues," so when the time neared for his "winged transformation," he said to himself, "I pray to be reborn as a boy child in the Li clan, in order to recompense his generous virtue." That night, Derou's mother dreamed a yellow-capped [Daoist] came and knocked at the gate. After she awoke, indeed she did bear a son, who is the present Derou. When he was young, Derou was fond of reading books and skilled at poetry and prose. He knew the techniques of "the reds-and-blues" without study, which amply proves he had this proficiency carried over from his former life.[59] He is very skilled at portraits, and his work has vitality.[60] His sketch-copies of the stories of immortals from the *Four Perfected Ones* painted by Wu Daoyuan on the walls of the temple on Marchmount Song were so close, when viewers saw them, they wanted to become immortals and depart.[61] His application of colors no painter-artisan can match. Since he made the reds and whites he used from earth and minerals, no ordinary person could understand them.[62] When the state began to propagate Daoist teachings, [and people were needed] to collate and edit the "jasper texts and flowery achnatherum" [paper; i.e., the Daoist canon], Derou was the first to be selected. All his critical evaluations were just right. Now he is a Grand Master of Purple Vacuity and Editor of Texts in Ningshen Hall.[63] At present, there are twenty-six works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Elder Immortal Lord Mao,* one icon[64]
*The Second Immortal Lord Mao,* one icon[65]
*The Third Immortal Lord Mao,* one icon
*The Perfected One Zhongli Quan,* one icon[66]
*The Perfected One of Southern Florescence,* one icon[67]
*The Perfected One Wei Shanjun,* one icon[68]
*The Immortal Lord Lü Yan,* one icon[69]
*The Immortal Lord Su,* one icon[70]
*The Immortal Lord Luan,* one icon[71]
*The Immortal Lord Tao,* one icon[72]
*The Immortal Lord Feng,* one icon[73]
*The Immortal Lord Kou,* one icon[74]

*The Immortal Lord Zhang,* one icon[75]
*The Immortal Lord Tan,* one icon[76]
*The Perfected One Sun Simiao,* one icon[77]
*The Perfected One Wangzi Qiao,* one icon[78]
*The Perfected One Zhu Taochui,* one icon[79]
*Lord Fuqiu,* one icon[80]
*The Perfected One Liu Gen,* one icon[81]
*The Celestial Master,* one icon[82]
*The Extensive Epoch of the Most High,* one picture
*The Perfected One of the Void and Ultimate Virtue,* one icon[83]
Sketch-copy of the *Perfected Ones* of Wu Daoyuan, four icons

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1. This is the opinion of Liu Daochun in SCMHP. See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 21–22. See also Soper, *Experiences,* 48 and 162n445, and ZGMSJRMCD, 691.

2. This is the Three Kingdoms–period Daoist Ge Xuan. See Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth,* 154–155.

3. According to Zhou Mi, in 1293, the collector Zhuang Su bought a picture with this title, which bore seals and inscriptions by Emperor Huizong. See Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record,* 297.

4. For Sun (act. late 10th–early 11th c.), see ZGMSJRMCD, 684; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 142–153; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 35; Soper, *Experiences,* 48–49; and Alexander C. Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue of Paintings (The *Hua P'in* of Li Ch'ih)," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 69, no. 1 (Jan.–Mar., 1949):25–26.

5. THJWZ reports this as Tejaprabhā and the Nine Luminaries. See Soper, *Experiences,* 48.

6. Tong Renyi was a Sichuan painter of secular and religious figural subjects, whose work was often confused with that of Sun Zhiwei. See Soper, *Experiences,* 53–54.

7. One of the twenty-eight lunar mansions or asterisms. Since it is situated in the eastern quadrant, which is associated with the Azure Dragon, its animal symbol is a golden dragon. This painting may have depicted a male god with a golden dragon.

8. This is one of the Eight Immortals of Shu, Fan Changsheng, who was said to have lived as a Daoist recluse in the Qingcheng Mountains in the third century. See Mi, ed., *Tuhua jianwen zhi; Huaji,* 246n17.

9. In the guise of a mendicant monk, the folk character Zhigong was said to have performed pedicures and podiatry on such figures as Śākyamuni, Bodhidharma, and King Wen of the Zhou dynasty. See http://baike.baidu.com/view/5150486.htm, accessed 12/28/2015.

10. Li Babai is one of the Eight Immortals of Shu, but a younger sister is unknown. See Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth,* 215–216.

11. Peng Zu was a legendary figure of Sichuan, noted for his great longevity. See Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 82.

12. This entry blends and amplifies those in SCMHP and THJWZ, yet omits to say Goulong (act. late 10th c.) served as a Painter-in-Attendance during the early Song. See ZGMSJRMCD, 151; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 209–211; Lachman,

*Evaluations,* 38; Soper, *Experiences,* 49; Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue," 22.

13. This artist is not found in any other source. See ZGMSJRMCD, 969.

14. This entry draws from THJWZ and SCMHP. See Soper, *Experiences,* 50, and Lachman, *Evaluations,* 28–29. See also ZGMSJRMCD, 125–126; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 35–38.

15. The birth star is the star of the seven in the Northern Dipper that was dominant in the year the individual was born; it controls his or her fate. See "Benming yuanchen," in William Edward Soothill (1861–1935), *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Pub. Co., 1975), 189.

16. Again reading *shanse* 山色 for *seshan* 色山.

17. Pindola was the first of the sixteen arhats.

18. Yue says this refers to monks. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 91n16.

19. Both fishhook and *qin* stand for stories involving a ruler granting high office to a worthy recluse. According to Sima Qian, Lü Shang (trad. 11th c. BCE, also known as Jiang Ziya and Taigongwang), was fishing on the banks of the River Wei in reclusion, having left the service of the tyrannical last ruler of the Shang, when he was discovered by King Wen of the Zhou (*Shiji,* 32.1477–1478). His fishing line had no hook, indicating he was simply waiting to serve a righteous ruler. After hearing his opinions on military strategy, King Wen appointed him to serve as his prime minister. Lü's later advice to King Wu helped him to overthrow the Shang. He is the putative author of *Taigong's Six Stratagems* (Taigong liutao 太公六韜). See Ralph D. Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 23. Zou Jizi (ca. 385–319 BCE) became a prime minister for King Wei of the state of Qi (r. 356–320 BCE) during the Warring States period by using his *qin*-playing to gain an audience with the king. See Sima, *Shiji,* 46.2355.

20. Probably an illustration of the Lü Shang story, given in the previous note.

21. Probably a depiction of the story from the *Lotus Sutra* in which Mañjuśrī helps the daughter of the dragon-king Sāgara to become a Buddha.

22. See the entry on Lingyang in Kaltenmark, trans, *Le Lie-sien Tchouan,* 183–187.

23. Possibly an illustration of the story of Zhidun and Xu Xun engaged in a discussion of Buddhist scripture. See Mather, *A New Account of Tales of the World,* 113.

24. The "Five Worthies of the State of Qi" were officials of Duke Huan (r. 685–643 BCE), including Guan Zhong (719–645 BCE), while the "Five Worthies of the State of Jin" were officials, whose names vary according to the account, of Duke Wen (r. 636–628 BCE).

25. These are the trees on the islands of the immortals.

26. This is the title of one poem in the "Ten Records of Mount Song" by the Daoist recluse Lu Hongyi (d. ca. 740), in Peng Dingqiu (1645–1719), ed., *Quan Tang shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), ch. 123. He is also known as Lu Hong; see the entry for Lu Hong in ch. 10.

27. In the preface to his "Rhapsody on the Gaotang Shrine," Song Yu (act. 290–223 BCE) tells King Xiang of Chu about an earlier king's dream of the beautiful Wushan goddess, while in the preface to his "Rhapsody on the Goddess," Song Yu told King Xiang he had dreamed of her. When the king asked Song to elaborate, he produced the rhapsody. In neither case, however, did King Xiang actually do the dreaming. See David R. Knechtges, trans., *Wen xuan or Selections of Refined Literature,* vol. 3 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 325 and 339–340.

28. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1547.

29. Possibly a reference to the statement by Guo Ruoxu that ancient landscape painters, among whom he includes Wang Wei, could not come up to modern painters. See Soper, *Experiences,* 22.

30. Quoted from THJWZ. See Soper, *Experiences,* 50.

31. Unclear what text has ranked him.

32. In the late 11th century, Guo Ruoxu tells of a scroll of this subject by Gu Deqian owned by the family of Lü Wenjing (Yijian, 979–1044) (see Soper, *Experiences,* 50), while Niu Jian, writing around the same time, tells of another (or the same one?) owned by the Yue family of Yixing. See Wang Yuanqi (1642–1715), ed., *Peiwenzhai shuhuapu* (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1984), 49.1281. The story of Xiao Yi's theft of the *Orchid Pavilion Preface* by deception from the monk Biancai at the behest of Emperor Taizong of Tang is told in He Yanzhi's *Lanting ji* (after 722), in Zhang Yanyuan, ed., *Fashu yaolu* (Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1986), 3.100–103. According to Wang Yaoting, one of these pictures by Gu Deqian is now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, under the name of Yan Liben. See Wang, "Song Gaozong shuhua shoucang yanjiu," *Gugong xueshu jikan* 29.1 (2011):14.

33. From the lost *Yeren xianhua,* copied into both *Taiping guangji* (214.5b–6a) and THJWZ (Soper, *Experiences,* 99), is a description of a group of murals done by the Sichuan Daoist Zhang Suqing (see his entry in ch. 2), which depicted the Five Peaks, the Four Rivers, and the Goddesses of the Twelve Streams.

34. Yue identifies this as the story of Liu Yi, a scholar during the early Tang, who married the daughter of the dragon-king of Lake Dongting (Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 93n8), as told in *The Story of Liu Yi* (*Liu Yi zhuan*), by Li Chaowei (766–820). See Cui Wei, ed., *Tang Song chuanqi xuanyi* (Shanghai: Silian chubanshe, 1955), 1–24.

35. See ZGMSJRMCD, 568 and 569; Soper, *Experiences,* 51; and Lachman, *Evaluations,* 30–31.

36. Yue thinks this refers to the Qinling Mountains and the plains to the north, in modern Shaanxi and Gansu provinces. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 94n5.

37. In the *Sutra of the Long-Life King* (*Changshou wang jing, Taishō shinshū daizōkyō,* no. 161), the king is an earlier incarnation of Śākyamuni.

38. According to Yue, this would be a depiction of Emperor Gaozu (r. 206–194 BCE) discussing the merits of his high officials in order to award enfeoffments, following his establishment of the Han dynasty. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 94–95n8.

39. See ZGMSJRMCD, 537; Soper, *Experiences,* 54; Vandier-Nicolas, *Le Houache de Mi Fou,* 90.

40. Eldest of the sixteen sons of the Buddha Great Universal Wisdom Excellence, in the "Parable of the Phantom City" chapter of the *Lotus Sutra.* See Burton Watson, trans., *The Lotus Sutra* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 120.

41. A bodhisattva to whom the Buddha preached the "Teacher of the Law" chapter of the *Lotus Sutra.* See Watson, trans., *Lotus Sutra,* 160–169.

42. This is doubtful and likely derived from the story about the monastery in Shaanjiao that follows, since the far lengthier entry on Han (act. late 9th–early 10th c.) and Li Zhu in *Wudai minghua buyi* says it was not known where they were from. See Liu, *Wudai minghua buyi,* 104. See also ZGMSJRMCD, 1481, under 求; Soper, *Experiences,* 32.

43. Unofficial name for the town of Shaanxian, near modern Sanmenxia City, Henan.

44. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1191; Soper, *Experiences,* 52; Vandier-Nicolas, *Le Houache de Mi Fou,* 70.

45. The facts stated here differ somewhat from those in the entry in SCMHP. See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 40–41.

46. In fact, there are no recent paintings of Zhong Kui listed in the *Catalogue.* The "someone" quoted here is likely Shen Kuo (1031–1095), who described Emperor Shenzong's interest in pictures of Zhong Kui. He said that the palace used to have a Zhong Kui picture by Wu Daozi, on which a Tang-dynasty person had written out the story of Minghuang's dream. In 1072, Emperor Shenzong ordered his painters to make copies of it to be sent out to high officials in the two capitals. See Shen Kuo, *Mengxi bitan jiaozheng* (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1961), *Bubi tan* 3.986–987.

47. In the Huangyou period of Song (1049–1054), a tomb was discovered in Shangyuan County, Jinling, belonging to Lady Zheng, the mother of the Liu Song dynasty general Zong Que (d. 465). The name Zhongkui found in the inscription was the personal name of Zong Que's younger sister. Shen concludes by saying that although the name was known earlier, painting Zhong Kui images only began in the Tang. See Shen Kuo, *Mengxi bitan jiaozheng, Bubi tan* 3.987.

48. For Wu (act. ca. 1004–1050), see ZGMSJRMCD, 537; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 245–250; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 25–28; Soper, *Experiences,* 43–44.

49. Guo Ruoxu argues that the Cao and Wu in question are Cao Zhongda (6th c.) and Wu Daozi (8th c.) (Soper, *Experiences,* 17), while Huang Xiufu says, in his discussion of the luohan paintings of Zhang Xuan, that the two styles began with Cao Fuxing (3rd c.) and Wu Jian (5th c.) (*Yizhou minghua lu,* 159). Guo says drapery in the Wu style appears to be blown by the wind, while that of the Cao style appears to have just emerged from water. Huang says "Cao did his drapery folds in close parallels, while Wu made his simple and sketchy" (Soper, *Experiences,* 130n197).

50. Wang Sui died in 1039. The full story is in Lachman, *Evaluations,* 25.

51. This observation about Zhang (964–1049) is taken from THJWZ. See Soper, *Experiences,* 43.

52. See Maggie Bickford, "Huizong's Paintings: Art and the Art of Emperorship," in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Maggie Bickford, eds., *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China: The Politics of Culture and the Culture of Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), 485–486; Soper, *Experiences,* 166–167n467.

53. Subject unknown.

54. Since Xu was not actually an artist, he is not found in any other text on art. For the story about Emperor Huizong asking Xu Zhichang about the Divine Empyrean, see Zhao Yushi (1175–1231), *Bintui lu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), 1:4. In the official biography of Cai Jing (Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 472.13722), it is reported that when Huizong came to the throne, Xu Zhichang already "was an official of the central Daoist registry, who had gained access to the palace of the Yuanfu Empress through his talisman water." See Charles Hartman, "A Textual History of Cai Jing's Biography in the *Songshi,*" in Ebrey and Bickford, eds., *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China,* 539.

55. This appears to be a conflation of two titles granted to Xu Zhichang. In 1113, he was titled Chongxu xiansheng (Master of the Void), and later, the title Dazhong dafu (Grand Master of the Palace) was added. See *Xuanhe yishi* (Taipei: Taiwan Zhonghua shuju, 1965), *qianji* 11b.

56. Ruizhu Hall stood to the west of Tianzhang Pavilion, where the documents of Emperor Zhenzong's reign were stored. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 162.3819. Since it appears to have been relatively unimportant in the twelfth century, perhaps this post was a sinecure.

57. Since there is no descriptive measure-word here, such as "picture" or "icon," I take this to be a sketch from a mural. I think Xu may have made the sketch, but not the mural.

58. See ZGMSJRMCD, 401, under 李德柔, and Deng Chun, *Huaji,* in Mi, ed., *Tuhua jianwenzhi; Huaji,* 5.343, for a longer and more detailed entry that quotes a poem by Su Shi. See also Cai Tao, *Tieweishan congtan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 5.91.

59. This may be a paraphrase of the final line in a poem about Li Derou by Su Shi, which was copied by Deng Chun: "His proficiency at 'the reds-and-blues' is proof of that today." See Deng, *Huaji,* 5.344.

60. While none of the pictures listed here are portraits, Cai Tao remembered that Li was valued for his portraiture. He wrote, "He was good at painting, and so superbly could he convey the spirit while capturing the likeness that he was often in the homes of high officials." See Cai, *Tieweishan congtan,* 5.91.

61. One of a set of ten poems called "Ascending Mount Song" by Su Zhe (1039–1112) treats a mural by Wu Daozi of *Four Perfected Lords* at Jingsi Temple. See Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 202.

62. Suggesting his manufacture of his own pigments was somehow alchemical in nature.

63. Ningshen Hall is not mentioned in *Song shi,* but it was the site of Daoist activities under Huizong's reign. Lin Lingsu and Wang Wenqing (1087–1153) were said to have been appointed Attendant there. See Zhao Yushi (1175–1231), *Bintui lu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), 1.4.

64. Mao Ying (b. 145 BCE) was a Han-dynasty Daoist alchemist who was considered a Daoist deity and the Patriarch of the Maoshan School of Daoism. His two younger brothers, Mao Gu and Mao Zhong, joined him at Mount Juqu (southwest Jiangsu), also called Mount Mao. See Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth,* 326–328.

65. On the Mao brothers, see Isabelle Robinet, *La révélation du Shangqing dans l'histoire du taoïsme* (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1984), 2.389–398.

66. A legendary Daoist immortal, said to have begun as a general under the Eastern Han, who became an alchemist. See Julian F. Pas and Man Kam Leung, "Chung-Li Ch'üan/Zhongli Chuan," *Historical Dictionary of Taoism* (Lanham, MD, and London: The Scarecrow Press, 1998), 92.

67. Probably Zhuang Zhou, the putative author of *Zhuangzi.* Under Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang, this text was rechristened *Nanhua zhenjing,* or "Perfect Scripture of Southern Florescence." See Kohn, ed., *Daoism Handbook,* 35.

68. According to Du Guangting (850–933), Wei Shanjun (595–694) was an early Tang student of Daoist texts and practices, who lived to one hundred. See the record preserved in *Taiping guangji,* 47.10a–11a.

69. This is Lü Dongbin (trad. b. 796), considered a famous Daoist alchemist of the Tang dynasty, one of the "Eight Immortals" and one of the Five Patriarchs of the Quanzhen Daoist School. See Kohn, ed., *Daoism Handbook,* 117–118.

70. Yue thinks this could be Su Dan, traditionally considered to have lived in the time of Emperor Wen of the Han dynasty (179–157 BCE), who became an immortal. Traces of his cult remain in Binzhou, Hunan. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 104n16.

71. This may be Luan Da, a government official who worked to exorcise local cults. See the hagiography, which includes some magical activities, from *Shenxian zhuan* in Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth,* 252–254, and his official biography in Fan Ye (398–446), *Hou Han shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 57.1841–1842.

72. This may be Tao Hongjing (456–536), the Six Dynasties–period alchemist who

helped popularize the Shangqing School of Daoism. See Kohn, ed., *Daoism Handbook,* 168.

73. This may be Feng Heng, the "Blue Ox Practitioner of the Dao," who was famous as a healer during the Wei Kingdom (220–265). See Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth,* 149, and 397–400.

74. Yue believes this is Kou Xian, a fisherman who lived under the state of Song during the Spring and Autumn period. Duke Jing asked him about the Dao, but when he failed to answer, the duke had him killed. Many decades later, he showed up in front of the city walls of Song, where he drummed on a *qin* for several days before departing. The locals then worshipped him. See the entry in Kaltenmark, trans., *Le Lie-sien Tchouan,* 107–108.

75. This is probably Zhang Guo, also known as Zhang Guolao, one of the "Eight Immortals." See Kohn, ed., *Daoism Handbook,* 118. Emperor Xuanzong of Tang was said to have called him to court to marry one of his daughters, but Zhang laughed it off and remained a hermit.

76. This may be Tan Qiao (860/873–968/976), an alchemist who practiced at the Southern Marchmount Hengshan during the Southern Tang period and was said to have become an immortal. His book, *Hua shu* (*Book of Transformation*), has been an influential Daoist text. See Kohn, ed., *Daoism Handbook,* 477.

77. Sun Simiao (581–682) was a medical man and Daoist alchemist who was called to court repeatedly during the Tang dynasty, but never took office. He wrote books of prescriptions such as *Prescriptions Worth a Thousand Pieces of Gold* (*Qianjin yaofang*). See Victor Xiong, "Sun Simiao," in *Chinese Medicine and Healing: an Illustrated History,* ed. T.J. Hinrichs and Linda L. Barnes, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013), 87–88, and biographies in Liu, *Jiu Tang shu,* 191.5094–5097; Ouyang and Song, *Xin Tang shu,* 196.5596–5598.

78. Wangzi Qiao was the son and Heir Apparent to King Ling of the Zhou. His original name was Jin. He was famed for his playing of the *sheng* pipes, which was said to draw the phoenix. For over thirty years, he and Fuqiu Bo roamed the area of the Yi and Luo rivers and climbed Mount Song together. See Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth,* 107n18, 185, 273; and Kaltenmark, trans., *Le Lie-sien Tchouan,* 109–114.

79. Zhu lived as a hermit at Mount Lu during the Tang. See Ouyang and Song, *Xin Tang shu,* 196.5596.

80. This is probably Fuqiu Bo, who roamed Mount Song with Wangzi Qiao. See the entry for Wangzi Qiao in Kaltenmark, trans., *Le Lie-sien Tchouan,* 109.

81. Liu Gen served as an official under the reign of Emperor Cheng (r. 32–37 BCE) of the Later Han, but became a recluse at Mount Song. See Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth,* 240–248.

82. This probably denotes Zhang Daoling (34–156), founder of the Way of the Celestial Masters. He lived as a hermit in the Mang Mountains north of Luoyang, practiced longevity techniques, and had many sobriquets, including Ancestral Celestial Master. See Kohn, ed., *Daoism Handbook,* 76.

83. Under Emperor Xuanzong of Tang, Master Lie (Lie Yukou, fifth century BCE) was given the title "Perfected One of the Void," and the book attributed to him, *Liezi,* was renamed *The Perfected Scripture of the Void* and designated a Daoist classic. During the reign of Emperor Zhenzong in the Song dynasty, it was retitled *The Perfected Scripture of the Void and Ultimate Virtue.*

# Chapter Five

## Prefatory Explanation for Figural Subjects

When people in the past discussed figures, they said Zhang Cang was "white as the bottle-gourd [flower]," Ma Yuan had "eyebrows and eyes like a painting," Wang Yan's "spirit and demeanor were lofty and transcendent," [Sima] Xiangru had "[a harmonious expression] that was unhurried, poised and extremely refined," Pei Kai's "appearance and bearing were handsome and bright," and Song Yu's "deportment and appearance were refined and beautiful."[1] When they discussed beautiful women, then it was "the daughters of my neighbors on the east" had "silk-moth eyebrows and white teeth," and the "goddess on the Luo riverbank" "had an extraordinary appearance, gorgeous and graceful."[2] They include she who was "good at cultivating a seductive appearance by making knitted brows, applying 'tear-stain makeup,' dressing her hair in 'Fell off a Horse,' doing the twisted-waist walk and affecting the 'decayed-tooth smile.'"[3] All these descriptions of appearances are found within verbal accounts. But when it comes to the pupils of Yin Zhongkan or the hairs on Pei Kai's cheek, "the essence of the spirit is found in that [dotting of the eyes]," or the lofty recluse "who ought to be placed amidst hills and streams," these are what verbal accounts cannot touch.[4] Rather, they are the marvels the painter creates without a word. The reason why it is difficult to have skill at painting figures is that even when artists have captured the likeness, often they miss the personality. Hence, out of all those considered famous for this subject from Wu and Jin times onward, only thirty-three men were selected. The best of those worthy of

perpetuation are Cao Fuxing of Wu, Wei Xie of Jin, Zheng Fashi of Sui, Zheng Qian and Zhou Fang of the Tang, Zhao Yan and Du Xiao of the Five Dynasties period, and Li Gonglin of this dynasty. Although such things are not spoken of here, if you would still like to evaluate these men of the past, and even to give them relative rankings, you should be able to do so at a glance. There are those who gained fame at painting figures, yet do not appear in this *Catalogue*. The vigorous brevity of Zhang Fang,[5] the uncultivated casualness of Cheng Tan,[6] and the form-likeness of Yin Zhi, Weizhen, and Yuan'ai were not bad,[7] but with such dazzling gentlemen as Cao and Wei before them and Li Gonglin after, they would definitely have been thrown into the shade. By this you may know that no one recorded in this *Catalogue* has been falsely praised.

## Figural Subjects, One, including Portraits of Emperors and Princes from Prior Dynasties

Wu
: Cao Fuxing

Jin
: Wei Xie, Xie Zhi

Sui
: Zheng Fashi

Tang
: Yang Ning, Yang Sheng, Zhang Xuan, Zheng Qian, Chen Hong, Zhou Guyan

Cao Fuxing was a man of Wuxing.[8] His fame as a painter surpassed all others of his time. Sun Quan ordered him to paint a screen. When a drop of ink accidentally fell on its surface, Cao turned it into a housefly. Quan thought it was real and tried to pluck it off.[9] At that time, there were the "Eight Unsurpassed" in Wu, of which Fuxing was one.[10] He once saw a red dragon coiling in the waters of a stream, so he painted a picture of it to give to Sun Hao. Hao greatly appreciated it and kept it as a treasure. In the time of Emperor Wen of the Song, there was a terrible drought of many months, and they prayed for rain without result, but when they placed a dragon painting by Fuxing at the river's edge, it immediately rained copiously. Even though the Southern Qi dynasty was not that long after the Wu Kingdom, Xie He said, "Fuxing's traces are rarely seen, and in the Imperial Archives, there is only one dragon head by him."[11] And

how many centuries has it been since the Southern Qi? His *Military Tallies* picture shows the utmost skill; however, it is not seen in any of the traditional records. Probably it was a secret treasure, never shown, which is why it could be handed down over such a long time, without encountering the calamity of "the sleek-furred fox and the elegantly spotted leopard."[12] At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

> *[The Original Maiden Transmitting] the Military Tallies [to the Yellow Emperor]*[13]

Wei Xie was famous for painting in his day, and his Daoist and Buddhist subjects and figures were unsurpassed at that time.[14] He once painted *The Seven Buddhas,* but did not dot in the pupils. Viewers were dubious [of his ability] and asked him to put them in. Xie replied, "Not so, it's just I'm afraid they might soar into the sky and depart." His contemporaries considered Xie a Sage of Painting, so how could his fame be empty?[15] Gu Kaizhi earned fame for his "reds-and-blues" and did not lightly praise others, yet he said of his *Seven Buddhas* and *Exemplary Women* that they were "awesome in their force. His picture of '[Ode to the] North Wind,' from the *Book of Odes,* is ingenious and precise in feeling and thought." And [Gu] considered his own paintings unable to achieve that.[16] Xie's pictures of *Exemplary Scholars* [sic][17] and *Zhuangzi of Bian Stabbing a Tiger*[18] circulated in his day, but that was long ago, and they are rarely seen now.[19] The *Zhuangzi of Bian Stabbing a Tiger* and *Lofty Scholars* preserved today are short scrolls unrolled horizontally, but isn't what has been transmitted erroneously as *Lofty Scholars* really the old *Exemplary Scholars?* For the time being, [the title] will be retained and not changed. At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

> *Zhuangzi of Bian Stabbing a Tiger,* one picture
> *Lofty Scholars,* two pictures

Xie Zhi was a man of Yangxia in Chen Commandery.[20] In the beginning, he served as a Recorder in the Ministry of Education under the Jin, but when he joined the Song dynasty, he was made General for Pacifying the North. He was good at painting, doing mostly worthy mothers, filial sons, chaste wives, and exemplary women, pictures that can be used to supplement moral education. He never pointed up the brush or ground ink without a purpose. At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Exemplary Woman of Chastity,* one picture[21]
*Three Oxen,* one picture

The hometown of Zheng Fashi is unknown.[22] Under the [Northern] Zhou dynasty, he served as an Area Commander-in-Chief, Supernumerary Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, and Jianzhong General, and when he came over to the Sui dynasty, he received the prestige title of Grand Master of Palace Leisure. He was good at painting and followed Zhang Sengyou. At that time, he was heralded as his best disciple, but later on his reputation was greater. He excelled at figures. Even down to the hat strings and girdle pendants, they were according to regulations, while in deportment and demeanor, he caught the image of the person. His brushwork was so skillful that he could describe even flowing water and floating clouds, which have no fixed attitudes. Critics said that [painting in] Jiangzuo declined from Sengyou onward, except for Fashi who walked alone.[23] Falun, Fashi's younger brother, was also praised for his paintings, but their fine detail was excessive and he failed to accord with his teacher's methods, and because of this his works were lost. [Fashi's] son Dewen and his grandson [sic] Shangzi both followed the family tradition.[24] Shangzi was District Defender of Jiande, in Muzhou, and was particularly skilled at ghosts and spirits. Critics considered him quite inferior to his father and grandfather. In addition, he was good at the trembling brushwork style, and these trembling gestures could be seen in [the drawing of] clothing, hands, feet, tree leaves, and flowing waters. This is probably his most profound attainment of Fashi's model, but since it responded to what was in his mind, those who tried to follow him could never imitate it.[25]At present, there are ten works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Outing in a Spring Garden,* four pictures
*Outing in Spring Mountains,* two pictures
*Reading the Stele,* four pictures[26]

Yang Ning was good at painting figures, and he, Yang Sheng, and Zhang Xuan all gained fame for portraiture in the same period.[27] In the Kaiyuan era, he did portraits for the Historiography Institute, in which he [captured] the manner, spirit, personality, and frame, not content with simply seeking the likeness. The hardest thing to paint is figures, but Yang Ning focused on overcoming the difficulties and ended up proficient in painting figures. Such specialized study, how could it be easy? At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Outing on Horseback,* one picture
*Liu Cong Facing the Troops,* one picture[28]
*Kitchen,* one picture

The hometown of Yang Sheng is unknown. In the Kaiyuan era, he was an Auxiliary Painter in the Historiography Institute.[29] His portraits of Minghuang and Suzong profoundly captured the manner and bearing of these rulers. In later times, his pictures were copied many times. Those who painted Minghuang did not know his deportment or his imposing good looks and that he had an extraordinary appearance, so they never got past [a conventionally handsome] appearance signified by luxuriant eyebrows and long beard. Further, since it is likely that viewers could not tell the difference, painters introduced changes into the robes and caps. [Such paintings] are what a common person would do and not worth mention. Because Sheng was a portrait specialist and had personally seen Minghuang's extraordinary appearance, the excellence of his portrait is only to be expected. In his *Experiences,* Guo Ruoxu said that Sheng once did a portrait of [An] Lushan.[30] It is now lost. How appropriate, since it would be worthless. Were this false servant still alive, the people would butcher him into pieces and throw them out like dung, so if there were a painting of him, wouldn't it be cast aside and spurned? Would not the sole reason that Sheng would do a painting of him be as an admonition from the past? At present, there are four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Tang Minghuang,* one portrait
*Tang Suzong,* one portrait
*Wangxian Palace,* one picture[31]
*Lofty Scholars,* one picture

Zhang Xuan was a man of the capital.[32] He was good at painting figures and was most skilled at young noblemen and the beauties of the women's quarters. When he depicted flowery paths and bamboo pavilions, the color and composition were extremely artful. His painting of *Resentment in the Changmen Palace,* based on the poetic line, "By the golden well, the leaves of the autumn *wutong* tree yellow," showed a depth of imagination.[33] He was also able to depict children, which is particularly hard to do. Since children's appearance and attitudes are naturally rather similar, facial features must be determined according to their size and age. Ordinary painters, if they don't fail by making them look like little adults, fail by making them look like women. In addition, it is particularly important to

distinguish differences in social class, personality, and physiognomy. A poem by Du Fu says, "The younger son is five years old, his temperament is to eat an ox; the guests that fill the hall all turn their heads."[34] How could this compare with an ordinary child! Painters ought to use their imaginations like this. The old [books] report that Xuan did pictures such as *Night Outing of Young Noblemen, Praying for Skill in the Palace, A Wet-nurse Nursing a Baby,* and *Playing the Deerskin Drum*.[35] At present, there are forty-seven works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Minghuang Enjoying the Cool Breeze,* one picture
*Adjusting Her Makeup,* one picture
*Wet-Nurse Nursing a Baby,* one picture
*Pounding Newly Woven Silk,* one picture
*Palace Riders Holding Torches,* one picture
*Tang Empress Procession,* five pictures
*Palace Riders with Peddle Bows,* one picture
*Palace Women,* two pictures
*Lady Wei,* one portrait[36]
*Playing the Deerskin Drum,* one picture
*Court Women Playing Music,* one picture
*Japanese Women Riders,* one picture
*Appreciating the Snow,* two pictures
*Court Women Held Up by the Armpits,* one picture
*Five Princes Playing Boxi Chess,* two pictures
*The Four Flowing [Types of Qi],* one picture
*Weaving a Palindrome into Brocade,* three pictures[37]
*Birth Star,* one icon[38]
*Fulin,* one picture[39]
*Court Women with Transverse Flutes,* two pictures
*Court Women Playing the Qin,* two pictures
*Court Women on an Outing,* one picture
*Court Women Hiding Riddles,* one picture
*Court Women in Buildings and Outlooks,* one picture
*Court Women Brewing Tea,* one picture
*Minghuang Cockfighting with "Dazzling Black,"* two pictures
Sketch-copy of *Minghuang Playing a Wutong [Wood Instrument],* two pictures
*Night Outing of Lady Guoguo,* one picture
*Spring Outing of Lady Guoguo,* one picture
*Court Women Praying for Skill on the Seventh Night,* three pictures[40]
Sketch-copy of *Taizhen Teaching a Parrot,* one picture[41]
*Lady Guoguo Walking on the Green Grass,* one picture

Zheng Qian was a man of Yingyang in Zhengzhou.[42] He was good at painting landscapes and fond of doing calligraphy, but he was generally too poor to have any paper. Qian stored persimmon tree leaves in several rooms at the Cien Monastery. Every day he would practice calligraphy on some leaves, until over the years, he filled them all up. Once he wrote out some of his own poems with a painting, which he presented to Minghuang. Minghuang wrote a colophon to it that said, "The Three Perfections of Zheng Qian." Tao Qian, whose manner and personality were lofty and untrammeled, was like nothing seen before.[43] If [Zheng] had not experienced the same situation, "reclining, tipsy, under my northern window … I consider myself a recluse of old,"[44] how could he have understood the kind of person he was? How appropriate that he be painted by Zheng Qian. Qian's highest official position was Editorial Director. At present, there are eight works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Mātaṅga Tripiṭaka,* one image[45]
*Tao Qian,* one image
*Streams and Bridges amid Precipitous Mountains,* four pictures
*Chariot Escort,* one picture[46]
*Figures,* one picture

Chen Hong was a man of Kuaiji and served as Administrator of the Establishment of the Prince of Yong.[47] A portraitist, he was also skilled at figures and saddle-horses. His paintings were so successful that when his fellow painters saw them, none failed to bow to him. In the Kaiyuan period, he was called for court service by Minghuang, and every time he was ordered to depict the imperial visage, his work was always the most extraordinary one of the time. He once depicted Emperor Suzong in the Palace of Great Clarity.[48] Not only did he create a lifelike image of his "dragon visage and phoenix comportment," and the appearance of his "solar horns and lunar brow," but also his brushwork was vigorous and untrammeled.[49] Truly he could contend with Yan Liben for the lead, which is why so many studied with him. When Han Gan submitted his horse paintings, Minghuang found it strange that that he did not use Hong's brush methods, and so he was ordered to study with Hong. From this it may be known how he was respected. At present, there are seventeen works kept in the palace storehouses:

Sketch-copy of *Successive Rulers of Tang,* one image
Sketch-copy of *Tang Emperors,* one portrait
*Young Noblemen,* one picture

*Minghuang Playing a Wutong [Wood Instrument],* one picture
*Li Simo,* one portrait
*Six Chan Master Patriarchs,* six images
*Gods of the Gates,* one icon
Sketch-copy of *Dragon Steeds in the Imperial Stables,* two pictures
*Men and Horses,* one picture
*Submitting a Horse,* one picture
*Rucao,* one picture[50]

The hometown of Zhou Guyan is unknown.[51] He was good at painting figures, and he was especially skilled at women. Most of his paintings were lavish scenes of music-making through the seasons of the year in the palace, and for this he was famous. Yet his description of form-likeness never attained anything extraordinary. When he planned the composition of a scene, though, he could convey ideas beyond the drawing, so what the viewer got was not found in the painting, something no ordinary artisan can do. At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Night Outing of Minghuang,* two pictures
*Court Women with Doves,* one picture

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1. For this description of Zhang Cang (253–152 BCE), see his biography in Sima, *Shiji,* 96.2675; for Ma Yuan (14 bce–49 CE), see his biography in Fan, *Hou Han shu,* 24.827–867; for Wang Yan (256–311), see the anecdote in *Shishuo xinyu,* in which Wang Rong described his beauty in this way (see Mather, trans., *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü,* 228); for Sima Xiangru (ca. 179–117 BCE), see his biography in Sima, *Shiji,* 117.2999–3001; for Pei Kai (237–291), see his biography in Fang, *Jin shu,* 35.1047–1050; and for Song Yu (ca. 319–298 BCE), see this description of him by the character Master Dengtu in Song's "Rhapsody on Master Dengtu the Lecher" (*Dengtuzi haose fu*), in Xiao, *Wen xuan,* 19.268–269.

2. In his "Rhapsody on Master Dengtu the Lecher," Song Yu wrote that no women were more beautiful than "the daughters of my neighbors on the east" (see Xiao, *Wen xuan,* 19.268–269), but the line about "silk-moth eyebrows and white teeth" is only found in the "Seven Stimuli" (*Qifa*) by Mei Sheng (d. 140 BCE). See Xiao, *Wen xuan,* 34.478–484. The description of Mifei, the goddess of the Luo River, is given by Cao Zhi (192–232) in his *Luoshenfu.* See Xiao, *Wen xuan,* 19.269–272.

3. The biography of the aristocrat Liang Ji (d. 159) in *Hou Han shu* describes Sun Shou, his wife, as practicing these various techniques to appear seductive. According to Yue Ren (*Xuanhe huapu,* 109n9), the knitted brows were made to look thin and arched, tear-stain makeup was a technique of applying powder to look like one had been weeping, "Fell off a Horse" was a way of dressing the hair over to one side, the twisted-waist walk had the advantage of causing the hips and limbs to sway in an

affectedly bashful way, and the "decayed-tooth smile" involved smiling with the lips closed as though with a tooth-ache. Since she was aristocratic, Sun Shou was widely imitated. See Fan, *Hou Han shu,* 34.1178–1180.

4. For all four references, see the entry for Gu Kaizhi in chapter 1.

5. This probably refers to Zhang's style of work for his murals in the Hall of the Three Purities in the Palace of Reflecting and Responding to the Realm of Jade Purity, done in the Dazhong xiangfu era. According to the account in SCMHP, "Fang did not avail himself of charcoal drawings, but snatched up his brush and rapidly completed the figures.... complaints were made to the supervisor about Fang's inability to develop his ideas carefully, and about his boasting of how quickly he could work." See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 36–37.

6. An early Northern Song painter who was disparaged by Mi Fu, along with Cui Bai, as making pictures that only merited display in teahouses and wine shops. See Vandier-Nicolas, *Le Houa-che de Mi Fou,* 91. He is not noted in other Northern Song texts.

7. Yin Zhi was a mid-11th-century portrait and figure painter from Shu. SCMHP says "Mou Gu, Yuan'ai, and Yin Zhi all excelled at drawing likenesses, and they used their brushes to grasp the real." See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 48–49. THJWZ calls him a skillful portraitist. See Soper, *Experiences,* 56. THJWZ says of the monk Weizhen that he was commissioned to do portraits of the emperors Renzong and Yingzong and rewarded as the successor to the monk Yuan'ai. See Soper, *Experiences,* 56. Yuan'ai (act. late 10th c.) was also a monk from Shu who worked as a portraitist for Emperor Taizong. See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 47–48, and Soper, *Experiences,* 56. Mi Fu said his portraits had life and zest. See Vandier-Nicolas, *Le Houa-che de Mi Fou,* 69.

8. Called Cao Buxing in most other early texts. See Chen, *Liuchao huajia shiliao,* 28–31.

9. This entry paraphrases the account in LDMHJ, ch. 4. See LDMHJQY, 261–263.

10. Acker gives the list of the eight men and their skills, taken from the Jin-dynasty author Zhang Bo's *Records of Wu.* See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:19.

11. This entry is borrowed from LDMHJ and does not quote directly from Xie He, who says it was a dragon, not a dragon head. See Acker's translation of Xie's *Guhua pinlu,* in *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 1:7–8.

12. They were trapped for their fur, no matter how cautiously they ventured from hiding. See Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 210–211.

13. The full name for this painting is found in Cai, *Tieweishan congtan,* 4.78, as translated in Ebrey, *Accumulating,* 106. Cai said it was celebrated as the oldest genuine picture in the palace.

14. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1418; LDMHJ, ch. 5; LDMHJQY, 272–274; Chen, *Liuchao huajia shiliao,* 55–58.

15. An epithet assigned by Ge Hong, in *Baopuzi,* according to LDMHJ, ch. 5, in the entry on Wei Xie. See LDMHJQY, 272.

16. The comments here attributed to Gu Kaizhi are found in the essay called *Hualun* ("Discussion of Painting"), included in the entry on Gu in Zhang Yanyuan's *Lidai minghua ji.* See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:59. The statement that Gu felt he was not up to Wei seems to be Zhang's own words. See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:32.

17. Surely this is a mistake for *Exemplary Women,* since no source records *Exemplary Scholars* as painted by Wei Xie.

18. The Warring States tactician Chen Zhen told this story to the King of Qin as a

parable to suggest a course of action: Zhuangzi of Bian wanted to gain fame for stabbing a tiger, but a servant at the inn suggested a better way. If two tigers try to kill an ox, he said, they will fight over it. The larger tiger will kill the smaller, but be wounded in the struggle and easier for Zhuangzi to stab and kill. Thereby, he would bag two tigers instead of one and be praised for a greater feat of valor. See the biography of Chen Zhen in Sima, *Shiji,* 70.2302.

19. Guo Ruoxu indicated he had not seen any painting by Wei Xie. See Soper, *Experiences,* 10.

20. The entry is derived from LDMHJ, ch. 5. See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:84–85; LDMHJQY, 317–319; also ZGMSJRMCD, 1471; Chen, *Liuchao huajia shiliao,* 197–199.

21. I translate this title in the singular because Cai Tao identified the woman in the picture as Green Pearl. See Cai, *Tieweishan congtan,* 4.78.

22. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1386; LDMHJ, ch. 8; LDMHJQY, 421–423; Soper, *Experiences,* 9, 18.

23. The above is a paraphrase of the comments attributed to Li Sizhen by Zhang Yanyuan. See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:197. Jiangzuo refers to the area south of the lower reaches of the Yangzi River.

24. The authors have misread the name of the artist Sun Shangzi, whose entry immediately follows that of Zheng Dewen in LDMHJ, as "grandson Shangzi." See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:199. Also see the explanation in Yu, *Xuanhe huapu,* 103–104.

25. This assessment of Sun Shangzi is attributed to Li Sizhen, except for the comment about Sun imitating Zheng Fashi. Li Sizhen states that Sun imitated Zhang Sengyou. See LDMHJQY, 426.

26. If this represents the subject of Ouyang Xun (557–641) reading the stele by Suo Jing, it is likely anachronistic.

27. This information comes from LDMHJ, ch. 9. See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:248, and LDMHJQY, 489–490.

28. He was the ruler of the Former Zhao kingdom, from 310 to 318, who sacked Chang'an and Luoyang and overthrew the Western Jin dynasty. He was judged a great military leader, but excessively cruel and violent as a ruler.

29. Here I follow Yu Jianhua in reading *zhi* 直, or Auxiliary, for *zhen* 真. See Yu, *Xuanhe huapu,* 105n1. Zhang Yanyuan does not identify Yang Sheng as an Auxiliary Painter (see LDMHJQY, 489–490), but he is called one, together with Zhang Xuan, in Liu, *Xin Tang shu,* 59.1560.

30. There is no mention of Yang Sheng in the present version of THJWZ. It is also unclear how much of this tirade against An Lushan is being (inaccurately) attributed to Guo Ruoxu. Yue Ren punctuates it as though Guo said only "Sheng once did a portrait of [An] Lushan. It is now lost. How appropriate, since it would be worthless." See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 117. By contrast, in the 2007 edition of Yu Jianhua's work, it is punctuated as though the entire statement were made by Guo. See Yu, *Xuanhe huapu, Yu Jianhua Zhongguo huihua shilun yanjiu congshu* (Nanjing: Jiangsu meishu chubanshe, 2007), 138. A portrait of An Lushan is listed by Zhang Yanyuan under Yang Sheng's name in LDMHJ, ch. 9. See LDMHJQY, 489–490; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:248. It is also listed in Liu, *Xin Tang shu,* 59.1560.

31. A royal palace in modern Xianyang County, Shaanxi, utilized by Emperors Minghuang and Suzong. See Sima Guang (1019–1086), *Zizhi tongjian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), 220.7042.

32. See ZGMSJRMCD, 863; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 236–245; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 222–223; LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 489: Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:248–250, 290, 292n2; Soper, "Vacation Glimpse," 32; Soper, *Experiences,* 22, 80, 82.

33. This statement is taken from the lost text *Hua duan,* by Zhang Huaiguan (act. ca. 714–ca. 760), perhaps as it is preserved in *Taiping guangji,* 213.7a–b. See Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 236–237. The line of poetry comes from a poem by Wang Changling in Peng, *Quan Tang shi,* 143.1445.

34. From "Song of Lord Xu's Two Sons," trans. Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of Du Fu,* 6 v. (Boston; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), 3:55.

35. The "old books" in question are TCMHL, *Hua duan,* and LDMHJ. See Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 236–237.

36. Probably Wei Shuo (272–349), the putative author of "Diagram of the Battle Array of the Brush" (*Bizhentu*). See Amy McNair, "*Fa shu yao lu,* a Ninth-Century Compendium of Texts on Calligraphy," *T'ang Studies* 5 (1987):71.

37. Probably depicting Su Hui weaving a poetic composition with five colors of thread into a palindrome form to give her husband. See "Su, the wife of Dou Tao," in Fang, *Jin shu,* 96.2523.

38. The birth star is the star of the seven in the Northern Dipper that was dominant in the year the individual was born; it controls his or her fate. See "Benming yuanchen," in Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms,* 189.

39. Fulin was the coastal area of Western Asia held by the Eastern Roman Empire. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 67n6.

40. Depictions of the old custom of women going out into the courtyard at night on the evening of the seventh day of the seventh month to pray to the Weaving Maid Star for skill in needlework, a traditional measure of feminine worth. Dong You described a set of four pictures of this theme, which show skies filled with five-colored clouds, celestial beings, and the Milky Way. See Dong, *Guangchuan huaba jiaozhu,* 3.190–193.

41. Taizhen was a sobriquet of Yang Guifei (719–756), the consort of Emperor Xuanzong of Tang. For more on this theme, see Hui-shu Lee, *Empresses, Art, & Agency in Song Dynasty China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), 101–102.

42. He died in 764. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1389; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 284–289; Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue," 23; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 219, 226; Soper, *Experiences,* 80; Ouyang and Song, *Xin Tang shu,* 202.5766–5767; LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 500–501; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:258–259, 268, 279, 290, 300.

43. Yue follows Yu in supplying "his painting of" Tao Qian, but this is not certain. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 123, and Yu, *Xuanhe huapu,* 108.

44. There is no mention of being tipsy in Tao's "Letter to Master Yan and Others" that is quoted here. "A recluse of old" is literally "a sage from the time of Fuxi," a common epithet for a recluse.

45. According to tradition, Kāśyapa Mātaṅga came from India with the Chinese envoy Cai Yin to present the scriptures of Buddhism to Emperor Ming of the Han dynasty. He and others translated them at the White Horse Monastery in Luoyang, and this is traditionally considered the birth of Buddhism in China.

46. Reading *zhang yin* 杖引 as *yin jia zhang* 引駕仗. See Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 7973. In the Tang dynasty, a Chariot Escort was sixty members of the Left and Right Imperial Insignia Guards.

47. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1027; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 215, 221–222;

LDMHJ, chs. 1, 2, and 9; LDMHJQY, 507–508; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 1:139, 2:262–264; Soper, *Experiences,* 76, 189n603; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 138–143.

48. A temple for the worship of Lord Lao established in 742. A marble statue of Suzong was also set up there. See Victor Xiong, "Ritual Innovations and Taoism under Tang Xuanzong," *T'oung Pao* 82, 4/5 (1996):268.

49. "Solar horns" are the bony protuberances, or bosses, on the corners of the forehead. See Liu Yang, "Images for the Temple: Imperial Patronage in the Development of Tang Daoist Art," *Artibus Asiae* 61, no. 2 (2001):253. A "lunar brow" refers to a round, full face.

50. An anecdote in the *History of the Five Dynasties* may lend a clue to the subject of this painting. The biography of Li Yan tells how Emperor Zhuangzong of the Later Tang (885–926) sent Li to Shu with fine horses to trade for luxury goods for the women of his palace. In Shu, Li was informed that luxury goods could not leave the state by law. Ordinary goods that could be taken out were called *rucao* items. When the emperor was informed of Li's failure to bring back anything rare and exotic, he said angrily, "If objects submitted to the Central States are called '*rucao,*' then how will Wang Yan (the last ruler of Former Shu) avoid becoming a '*rucao* man'?" He then determined to invade Former Shu, which he conquered. See Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Wudai shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 26.284. Perhaps this picture showed Emperor Zhuangzong making his decision. Another possibility might be an image of Zhang Xu writing cursive script. The entry for the cursive script master, monk Yaxi, in Gui, ed., *Xuanhe shupu* (19.344) quotes an apocryphal statement by Zhang: "My calligraphy is not too large or too small, but goes straight up the middle of the way, like a bird flying out of a grove or a startled snake heading into the grass (*rucao*)."

51. See ZGMSJRMCD, 476; LDMHJ, ch. 10; LDMHJQY, 518: Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:273.

# Chapter Six

**Figural Subjects, Two**

Tang
: Zhou Fang, Wang Fei, Han Huang, Zhao Wenqi, Du Tingmu, Wu Shen, Zhong Shishao

Five Dynasties
: Zhao Yan, Du Xiao, Qiu Wenbo, Qiu Wenxiao, Ruan Gao, Lady Tong

Zhou Fang had the style name Jingyuan and was a man of Chang'an.[1] He belonged to a powerful and distinguished family, and as a noble scion, he moved in aristocratic society; but he lodged his mind in "the reds-and-blues" and for this gained fame in his day.[2] His elder brother Hao was good at riding and shooting, and as a result of his military successes was granted the post of Commander of the Imperial Escort. Emperor Dezong summoned Hao and said to him, "Your younger brother Fang is good at painting. I intend to order him to paint divinities at Zhangqin Monastery, so you should make a point of speaking to him about this."[3] Several months later, the emperor did issue the order, and then Fang did the painting. This was how highly he was valued. When Fang first began to do the ink drawing, the curtain was pushed aside so people could come and watch him. As the monastery was near the city gate, the wise and the simple all came. Some talked about the successful areas, while others pointed out the shortcomings, so the observations of the crowd helped him fix what was wrong. As Fang changed things based on what he heard,

in a little over a month, the criticisms ceased. When he was finished with the work, it was flawless. He was regarded as pre-eminent at that time. Later, Zhao Zong, the son-in-law of Guo Ziyi,[4] ordered Han Gan to paint his portrait, which everyone said was lifelike. Then he ordered Fang to paint him, and his was even better. One day Ziyi arranged the two paintings on the wall and, taking advantage of his daughter's visit home, asked her who the paintings showed. His daughter replied, "Master Zhao, my husband." When he asked her about the one drawn by Gan, she said, "This captures his appearance." Asked about the one by Fang, she said, "This also captures his spirit and demeanor." This clearly reveals their relative merits. When Fang painted divinities, because he thought about them carefully, even experiencing them through dreams where one revealed his appearance, he conveyed everything that was planned out in his mind.[5] This is not something one can attain through study, nor is it something a common painter could hope to capture by copying his paintings. His images of women have been considered to crown the ages. Praise for them is very widespread and often seen in the poetry of famous scholars.[6] Though Fang did a great number of paintings in his life, not a few have been lost. In the Zhengyuan period,[7] a man from Silla [went about in] the Jiang-Huai region and spent goodly amounts of money to acquire Fang's paintings to take back. People consider the women in Fang's paintings plump in appearance, which is taken as a flaw. This was for no other reason than that Fang moved in aristocratic circles where he mostly saw aristocratic beauties, so the plump look was the norm for him. Among the women of Guanzhong, the thin, fragile types were few. This plump appearance was fashionable long ago, which good connoisseurs will naturally grasp.[8] This is the same as Han Gan not painting skinny horses. At present, there are seventy-two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Three Officials of Heaven, Earth, and Water,* six icons
*True Forms of the Five Planets,* one picture[9]
*Five Planets,* one picture
*Five Luminaries,* one picture
*Lokapālas of the Four Directions,* four icons
*Lokapāla Descending with a Pagoda,* three pictures
*Lokapāla Supporting a Pagoda,* four icons
*Star Officer,* one icon
*Lokapālas,* two icons
*Lokapāla Delivering a Pagoda,* one picture
*The Six Ding and the Six Jia Gods,* four icons[10]
*Mother of Nine Sons,* three pictures[11]

Sketch-copy of *Power of Metal,* one icon
*The Great Emperor Sage, the Polestar,* one icon
*Lord Lao Traveling and Teaching,* one icon
*Minghuang Riding with Attendants,* one picture
*Consort Yang Emerging from the Bath,* one picture
*The Three Yangs,* one picture[12]
*Weaving a Palindrome into Brocade,* one picture
*Pleasure Outing,* one picture
*Young Noblemen on an Outing,* one picture
*Southern Barbarians Submitting Tribute,* two pictures
*Brewing Tea,* one picture
*Palace Ladies,* two pictures
*Palace Riders,* one picture
*Court Women on a Spring Outing,* one picture
*Court Women Brewing Tea,* one picture
*Court Woman Leaning on a Balustrade,* one picture
*Court Women with Transverse Flutes,* one picture
*Court Women and Dancing Cranes,* one picture
*Court Women with Silk Fans,* one picture
*Court Women Escaping the Heat,* one picture
*Court Women Examining Their Reflections,* one picture
*Court Women on an Outing,* one picture
*Court Women Playing Flutes,* one picture
*Court Women Playing Outdoors,* one picture
*Young Women Playing Chess,* one picture
*Women from India,* one picture
*Fulin,* one picture
Sketch-copy of *Empress Wu,* one portrait
*Music and Dancing,* three pictures
*Flowered Balustrades in a Grove with Rocks,* one picture
*The Consort Teaching a Parrot,* one picture[13]
*Lokapāla Bringing a Jeweled Pagoda Out of the Clouds,* one icon
*Vaiśravaṇa, Lokapāla of the North,* one icon
*Minghuang Cockfighting with 'Dazzling Black,'* one picture
*The Cockatoo Treading on the Double Sixes Board,* one picture[14]
*Gao Huan, Emperor of Northern Qi, Gracing the Jinyang Palace,* one picture

Wang Fei was a man of Taiyuan.[15] In official position, he reached Prefect of Jianzhou.[16] He liked to work at "the reds-and-blues," and he studied with Zhou Fang. Still, he never achieved the fine detail of Fang's work.[17] At that time, both he and Zhao Bowen were Fang's best pupils; however,

Fei surpassed Bowen considerably.[18] At present, there are ten works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Minghuang Enjoying Leisure,* one picture
*Minghuang [Watching a Performance of] Chopping Minced Fish,* three pictures[19]
Sketch-copy of *Tang Emperors and Empresses,* one portrait
*Taizhen "Suffering from Toothache,"* one picture[20]
Sketch-copy of *Zhuo Wenjun,* one portrait[21]
*Court Women Escaping the Heat,* one picture
*Court Women in a Domestic Scene,* two pictures

Han Huang had the style name Taichong, and in official position, he reached Acting Vice Director of the Left, Jointly Manager of Affairs with the Secretariat-Chancellery.[22] At leisure from his duties, he liked to play the *qin*. In calligraphy he obtained the brush method of Topsy-Turvy Zhang,[23] and in painting he was the equal of his clansman Han Gan. His paintings of figures and oxen and horses were especially skilled. Men of old considered the forms of oxen and horses, since they are always before our eyes, to be the most difficult to depict convincingly. Huang's paintings surpassed all others, thus it was difficult to obtain them. Huang once said, "Since I was unable to settle on a brush method, I cannot discuss calligraphy or painting." Because he considered his paintings unimportant, he concealed them, and they did not circulate. At present, there are thirty-six works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Li Deyu Entertaining Guests,* one picture[24]
*Seven Talents,* one picture
*Talented Gentlemen,* two pictures
*Filial Devotion,* two pictures
*Drunken Scholars,* one picture
*Customs of Farmfolk,* one picture
*Farmfolk Moving House,* one picture
*Lofty Scholar,* one picture
*Village Altar,* one picture
*Abundant Harvest,* one picture
*Strolling Tipsily around the Village Altar,* one picture
*Monks in Wind and Rain,* one picture
*In Reclusion,* one picture
*Yao's People Stamping Their Feet,* two pictures
*Drunken Guests,* one picture

*Encountering an Old Friend in the Xiaoxiang Region,* one picture[25]
*The Village Schoolmaster Moving House,* one picture
*Village Children Playing with Ants,* one picture
*Snow Hunting,* one picture
*Fishermen,* one picture
*Gathering at the Village Altar for an Oxen Contest,* two pictures
*Return from Herding,* five pictures
*Oxen Lowing at the Old Embankment,* one picture
*Young Oxen,* three pictures

Zhao Wenqi was a man of Chengdu.[26] His father Gongyou was also celebrated for his painting.[27] As a youth, Wenqi was smart and talented, and he was quite skilled at the family style. Wenqi had a son named Deqi, who also continued the family style as a painter, and in his day, his fame was no less than his father's and grandfather's.[28] At the beginning of the Dazhong era, Wenqi continued his father's work at the Great Shengci Monastery by painting Indra. The brushwork was very successful, and everyone celebrated it as unsurpassed. At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Court Women Burning Incense and Reading Aloud,* one picture
*Court Women Boiling Junket,* one picture

The hometown of Du Tingmu is unknown.[29] His paintings have been handed down. Though paintings of Daoist and Buddhist figures are the most commonly encountered, having skill at them is particularly difficult. Since Wu Daoyuan was hailed for his peerless work, the students who followed him have each developed his own tradition. Tingmu particularly loved depicting old stories, and in his painting of *Minghuang [Watching a Performance of] Chopping Minced Fish,* one can see the manner and breeding of the different classes of figures. If this were not already in his mind, how could he be so successful at it? At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Minghuang [Watching a Performance of] Chopping Minced Fish*

The hometown of Wu Shen is unknown.[30] He did streams and rocks in a level distance, and hermit-anglers and fishermen, all with a feeling of reclusion. In his *Xiao Yi [Taking] the Orchid Pavilion [Preface],* which has been handed down, people of different classes are distinguished by their manner and bearing. Unrolling the scroll, one can immediately imagine

the story taking place, as though before one's eyes. Truly, the reason for this is because the text [of the story] and the painting have both been handed down. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Xiao Yi [Taking] the Orchid Pavilion [Preface]*

Zhong Shishao was a man of Shu.[31] Good at "the reds-and-blues," he was especially skilled at Daoist and Buddhist subjects, figures, and dogs and horses. Following the Three Dynasties, ritual ceremony [was lost] and had to be continually gathered, so that by the glorious days of the Tang dynasty, even Fang and Du did not dare discuss it.[32] That Shishao was capable of making the painting *Venerating the Elderly,* how could it fail to move us?[33] The expression, "when ritual is lost at court, seek it in the countryside," is seen today in the work of Shishao.[34] At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Venerating the Elderly*

The Liang Imperial son-in-law Zhao Yan was originally named Lin, but he later changed it to his present name.[35] He loved "the reds-and-blues" and was especially skilled at figures. Their style and manner was superior, nothing an ordinary painter could achieve. His pictures that circulated included *Monograph on the Western Regions for the History of the Han Dynasty,*[36] *Pellet Chess,* and *Feeling the Pulse.* Were he not of extraordinary intelligence, how would he be able to escape so completely from the confines of brush and ink? At present, there are six works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Training Horses,* one picture
*Figures Holding Falcons on their Arms,* one picture
*Young Aristocrats Hunting with Falcons,* four pictures

Du Xiao was good at painting, and he had a considerable grasp of the brush method of Zhou Fang.[37] He was especially skilled at bees and butterflies, as well as the manners of [court beauties] with arched eyebrows and full faces. His pictures *Swinging, Catching Butterflies,* and *The King of Wu Escaping the Heat* circulated in the world.[38] With regard to the painting of bees and butterflies, the subtlety lies in a sparing and summary use of colors and ink. The thing that is hard to capture is their attitudes, and for a painter who lacks cultivation, refinement, and an

aristocratic imagination, it will not be easy for him to grasp. This is why, in the Tang, only *Butterflies* by the Prince of Teng was praised.[39] Such marvels of beauty and fascination certainly could not have been produced by a person of no feeling. At present, there are twelve works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Catching Butterflies,* eight pictures
*Court Women Catching Butterflies,* one picture
*Servant Women Catching Butterflies,* two pictures
*Court Women on an Outing,* one picture

Qiu Wenbo was a man of Guanghan.[40] He also had the personal name Qian, and he gained fame for his painting alongside his younger brother Wenxiao. In the beginning he was skilled at Daoist and Buddhist subjects and figures, and he also did landscapes. Later he mostly painted oxen. He caught every detail of their forms, whether eating grass, drinking water, getting up, galloping, suckling their young, or being led to pasture. He once did a *Mouse Holding Fruit in Its Mouth,* which was considered extraordinary in its day, but it has been lost, and no one knows where it is. At present, there are twenty-five works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Literary Gathering,* four pictures
*Abundant Harvest,* one picture
*The Six Transcendents,* four pictures[41]
*The Seven Talents,* two pictures[42]
*The Transformation Body of Vimalakīrti,* one picture
*Vimalakīrti Feigns Illness,* one picture
*Free and Easy under the Pines,* one picture
*Farmfolk Moving House,* one picture
*Water-Crossing Monk,* one picture
*Laomu of Lishan,* one icon[43]
*The Three Laughers,* one picture[44]
*Herding Oxen,* three pictures
*Galloping Oxen,* one picture
*Young Oxen,* two pictures
*Water Buffalo,* one picture

Qiu Wenxiao was a man of Guanghan and the younger brother of Wenbo.[45] He was skilled at Daoist and Buddhist subjects and was as famous at the time as Wenbo. He also had skill at landscapes, their essential quality being their unsullied air. The immortal manner of the

Daoist, the compassionate countenance of the Buddhist, the divine beauty of mountains and streams—had he not grasped these in his heart, he could never have achieved this success. Now in the region between Chengdu and Guanghan, there are a very large number of works by Wenxiao. He also liked to paint herding oxen. Because the Buddhists use them to illustrate human nature, this is why we see paintings of them by Wenxiao. At present, there are four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Luohans Crossing the Water,* one icon
*Figures in Old Stories,* one picture
*Herding Oxen,* two pictures

The hometown of Ruan Gao is unknown.[46] As an official, he served as Court Gentleman for Fasting at the Imperial Ancestral Temple. He was good at painting, skilled in depicting human figures, and was particularly accomplished at court women. All the various attitudes of delicate beauty and virtuous loveliness were gathered into his brush tip and put over into the realm [of his pictures.][47] His painting *Female Immortals* has the charm of the scenery of the Jasper Pool and the Gardens of Lang,[48] and amid the rainbow pennants and feathered canopies [of immortals' chariots] fluttering up to the skies, one could imagine Elü[49] and Shuangcheng.[50] Because he lived during a time of turmoil, his paintings were particularly hard to get and very few circulated in the world. At present, there are four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Female Immortals,* one picture
*Court Women on a Spring Outing,* three pictures

The married woman née Tong was a person of Jiangnan, but no one knows the details of her genealogy.[51] She followed the style of Wang Qihan, and she painted skilled renditions of Daoist and Buddhist subjects and figures. Since Tong was a woman and capable at "the reds-and-blues," women of official families at that time frequently sought her out to do their portraits. One literatus inscribed a painting by Lady Tong with this poem:

Although the talent and ability of this praiseworthy woman is
admirable,
the person in the painting is even more pure and lovely.
Why does she not emerge from the quiet of the women's quarters,
where she could use "the reds-and-blues" to depict things outside?

No one knows what became of her later. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Six Recluses,* one picture[52]

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1. He lived from around 730 to around 800. Jingyuan should be Jingxuan, following LDMHJ, ch. 10. TCMHL has Zhonglang as his style name; see Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:290–292. See also ZGMSJRMCD, 482–483; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 316; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2: 101, 249, 263, 289, 290–292, 293; LDMHJQY, 540–542. For TCMHL, see Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 210–212 and Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:291–292. Most of this entry is taken directly from THJWZ, including the mistake of Zhengyuan for Zhenyuan era. See Soper, *Experiences,* 80–81.

2. The authors have borrowed "lodge his mind" (*yuyi* 寓意) from Su Shi's "The Hall of Treasured Paintings" (*Baohuitang ji*), which Su wrote for Wang Shen, though they have misunderstood its Buddhist implications and appear to use it simply to mean the artist expressed himself. The opening line of Su's essay is: "A gentleman may temporary lodge his mind in external things, but he may not let his mind dwell permanently on them." See Egan, *The Problem of Beauty,* 165.

3. THJWZ has Zhangming Monastery; TCMHL has Zhangjing Monastery; see Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:291. Soper, *Experiences,* 194n636 prefers Zhangjing Monastery, which was dedicated to the spiritual welfare of the late Zhangjing Empress, mother of Emperor Daizong of Tang.

4. Guo Ziyi (697–781) was the most successful of the generals who remained loyal to the Tang royal house during the An Lushan Rebellion (755–762).

5. The dream reference is to a statement in TCMHL: "When Fang was on duty at Xuanzhou as Lieutenant Governor, he painted the Celestial Monarch of the North at Chanding Monastery, as he had once seen the god's image in a dream." Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 212; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:292.

6. These included Su Shi, Su Zhe, and Huang Tingjian, banned members of the 'Yuanyou party,' which may be why no names are cited here. For their writings, see Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 322–323.

7. A mistake for Zhenyuan, 785–805, copied from THJWZ. See Soper, *Experiences,* 80–81.

8. Dong You, in his colophon on a painting called *Playing the Zheng* by Zhou Fang, in Li Gonglin's collection, seems to set up the same situation, correcting an unsophisticated viewer who wonders why the women are plump. See Dong, *Guangchuan huaba jiaozhu,* 6.448.

9. The five planets are Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, Venus, and Mercury.

10. In each sexagenary cycle, there are six *jia* days and *six ding* days. The deities for those days can be summoned for protection and information about the future. See Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth,* 73.

11. A female deity to whom women pray to bear sons.

12. Likely Yang Guifei's three sisters: Lady Hanguo, Lady Guoguo, and Lady Qinguo.

13. Probably this was the consort of Emperor Xuanzong, Yang Guifei. For more on

this theme, see Lee, *Empresses, Art, & Agency in Song Dynasty China,* 101–102.

14. The same or a similar picture is recorded by Guo Ruoxu as *Yang Guifei's Pet Cockatoo Upsetting the Backgammon Board.* The story goes that when Emperor Minghuang was about to lose at Double Sixes, Yang Guifei released her pet cockatoo, "Snowclad Maiden," to upset the board. See Soper, *Experiences,* 10.

15. See ZGMSJRMCD, 92; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 228; LDMHJ, ch. 10; LDMHJQY, 542–543; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:293, under K'u, with explanation that this character can be read Fei, Pei, or Ku, and calls him Ku, Prince of Taiyuan (or Wang K'u of Taiyuan).

16. Modern Jian'ge, Sichuan.

17. This is Zhang Yanyuan's opinion. See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:293.

18. Zhao Bowen has an entry in chapter 13.

19. The ninth-century author Duan Chengshi tells a story that involves a man who had great skill at chopping minced fish. This was apparently a performance art. "He chopped it until it was as delicate as silk gauze and as fine as silk thread, so light you could blow it up into the air. He would grasp the knife, nimble as an echo, and chop as if in time to a rhythm. Once, when guests had gathered, he was showing off his skill." See Carrie E. Reed, *A Tang Miscellany: An Introduction to* Youyang zazu (New York: Peter Lang, 2003), 90.

20. Taizhen was the imperial consort Yang Guifei. She may be displaying the 'decayed tooth smile' spoken of in the "Prefatory Explanation for Figural Subjects" at the beginning of chapter 5.

21. The daughter of Zhuo Wangsun who was wooed by the Han poet Sima Xiangru (179–118 BCE). Since her father opposed the match, she ran off with Sima.

22. His dates are 723–787. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1484; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 355–368; Liu, *Jiu Tang shu,* 129.3599–3603; Ouyang and Song, *Xin Tang shu,* 126.4433–4438; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 220–221; LDMHJ, ch. 10; LDMHJQY, 543–544; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:286, 293–295; Soper, *Experiences,* 10, 22, 90, 141n297. This entry paraphrases TCMHL, with some information from the biographies in the dynastic histories.

23. Nickname of Zhang Xu (675–759), the illustrious and unconventional cursive-script master.

24. This is anachronistic, since Han died in the year Li Deyu (787–849) was born. Li had a long and varied career as a high official and was famous as a patron of artists and a collector of art. See Soper, *Experiences,* 23, 83.

25. Alfreda Murck explains that this landscape title should depict the *xiao* ("clear and deep") Xiang River scenery. See Alfreda Murck, "The 'Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang' and the Northern Song Culture of Exile," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 26 (1996):114.

26. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1290.

27. See the entry on Zhao Gongyou (act. early 9th c.), in Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 124.

28. See the entry for Zhao Deqi in Chapter 2. Zhao Gongyou, Zhao Wenqi, and Zhao Deqi are discussed sequentially in THJWZ. See Soper, *Experiences,* 23.

29. See ZGMSJRMCD, 338. There is no other record of this artist.

30. See ZGMSJRMCD, 286. There is no other record of this artist.

31. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1476. There is no other record of this artist.

32. Fang Xuanling (579–648) and Du Ruhui (585–630) were eminent high officials and close advisors of Emperor Taizong who worked together to establish the dynasty's

rituals.

33. The great rulers of antiquity venerated the elderly, as described in the *Jiyi* ("Meaning of Sacrifices") chapter of the *Liji.* See *Shisanjing,* 1:874.

34. This expression is attributed to Confucius in Ban, *Han shu,* 30.1746.

35. This information is found in Xue Juzheng (912–981), *Jiu Wudai shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), 14.195. See also ZGMSJRMCD, 1289; Soper, *Experiences,* 27, 28, 86–87, 138n274.

36. Guo Ruoxu describes this as "pictures by him of the prize horses told about in the Section on the Western Regions in the Han History. See Soper, *Experiences,* 27.

37. See ZGMSJRMCD, 341. Listed under the Five Dynasties period in THJWZ. See Soper, *Experiences,* 28, 140n295.

38. This information on these titles comes from THJWZ. See Soper, *Experiences,* 28.

39. The Prince of Teng was Li Yuanying, twenty-second son of Emperor Gaozu of the Tang dynasty. See the entry on him in chapter 15.

40. See ZGMSJRMCD, 149. Listed under Five Dynasties in THJWZ. See Soper, *Experiences,* 36, 149n370. His entry in Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu* (186), was not obviously consulted.

41. The Six Transcendents of Zhuxi, who drank and lived at Mount Culai, were Li Bai, Kong Chaofu, Han Zhun, Pei Zheng, Zhang Shuming, and Tao Mian.

42. Probably the Seven Masters of the Jian'an Period: the writers Kong Rong, Chen Lin, Wang Can, Xu Gan, Ruan Yu, Ying Yang, and Liu Zhen. See Ping Wang, "The Literary Community at the Court of the Liang Crown Prince," in Swartz, Campany, Lu, and Choo, eds., *Early Medieval China: A Sourcebook,* 371.

43. The goddess of Mount Li, just east of Xi'an. See *Xuanhe huapu,* Yue, 140n9 and Sima, *Shiji,* "Basic Annals of Qin," 5.177.

44. In this apocryphal story, so as not enter the mundane world, Monk Huiyuan (334–416), who lived at Donglin Monastery on Mount Lu, never crossed Tiger Creek to see his guests off. One day he was seeing off Tao Qian and Lu Xiujing, and so engrossed were they in their conversation that without realizing it, he crossed the bridge. A tiger roared, awakening them, and all three burst into laughter. See Susan E. Nelson, "The Bridge at Tiger Brook: Tao Qian and the Three Teachings in Chinese Art," *Monumenta Serica* 50 (2002):270–278.

45. See ZGMSJRMCD, 149; Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 200; Soper, *Experiences,* 36.

46. ZGMSJRMCD, 468, cites the other source for Ruan Gao as "Hua ping." Usually this refers to either Yancong's *Hou hua lu,* which is a Tang source and is too early, or Niu Jian's lost *Huaping,* fragments of which are found in *Peiwenzhai shuhuapu,* but there is no entry on Ruan Gao there.

47. Here I follow Yue Ren in interpreting *kunyu* 閫域 as the realm of the painting (*Xuanhe huapu,* 142n2). *Kun* can mean "threshold" or "women's quarters"; *yu* can mean "boundary" or "realm." Hui-shu Lee translates this phrase as, "so that he leads the viewer directly into the inner quarters of the palace ladies." See Lee, *Empresses, Art, & Agency in Song Dynasty China,* 95.

48. Jasper Pool and the Gardens of Mount Langfeng are features of the Queen Mother of the West's immortal paradise in the Kunlun Mountains.

49. The poems of Elühua are the first entry in *Zhengao,* by Tao Hongjing (452–536). She was a 900-year-old female Daoist immortal. See Tao, *Zhengao,* in *Congshu jicheng jianbian,* vol. 176 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1966), 1.1.

50. Dong Shuangcheng was a female attendant of the Queen Mother of the West. See *Han Wudi neizhuan,* in *Han Wudi neizhuan, Han Wudi waizhuan* (Shanghai:

Hanfenlou, 1923–1926), 2b1.

51. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1106.

52. A picture with the same title by this woman was held in the collection of Wang Yingsun (act. ca. 1276–1300) and described by Zhou Mi as a handscroll of a landscape in color with boats and many servant boys. See Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record,* 130, also 130n571, for Tang Hou's description of the men in the boats as six famous recluses.

# Chapter Seven

## Figural Subjects, Three

Song Dynasty

Zhou Wenju, Shi Ke, Li Jingdao, Li Jingyou, Gu Hongzhong, Gu Dazhong, Hao Cheng, Tang Zisheng, Li Gonglin, Yang Riyan

Zhou Wenju was a man of Jurong in the Jinling area.[1] He served the pretender Li Yu as a Hanlin Painter-in-Attendance. He was good at painting. His brushwork was slender and firm, with a trembling, dragging look, like Yu's calligraphy. He was skilled at Daoist and Buddhist subjects, figures, chariots and costumes, towers and belvederes, mountain forests, and streams and rocks. He never fell into the set patterns of Wu and Cao, but worked to establish his own tradition.[2] Only his court women were similar to those of Zhou Fang, although superior in delicate beauty. In the Shengyuan period, Yu ordered Wenju to paint the picture *Nanzhuang,* and seeing it, he exclaimed over its refinement and completeness of detail.[3] In the Kaibao period, Yu submitted some of his pictures, and they were stored in the Imperial Archives.[4] Pictures such as his *Spring Outing, Pounding Cloth, Ironing Silk,* and *Embroidery Woman* circulated in the world. At present, there are seventy-six works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Tianpeng,* one icon
*Northern Dipper,* one icon
*Xu Xianyan Encountering Immortals,* three pictures

*Gathering of Immortals,* one picture
*Buddha Mural,* one picture
*Stories of Immortals,* two pictures
*Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Rocana Buddha,* one icon
*Guanyin,* one icon
*Golden Light Bodhisattva,* one icon
Sketch-copy of *The Pretender Li Yu,* three portraits
*Minghuang Winning the Contest,* two pictures
*Minghuang Playing Chess,* one picture
*Five Princes Escaping the Heat,* four pictures[5]
Sketch-copy of *Young Woman,* one portrait[6]
*Chan Master Fayan,* one icon[7]
*The Epang Palace,* two pictures[8]
Sketch-copy of *Li Jilan,* one portrait[9]
*Chopping Minced Fish,* two pictures
*Fire Dragons Brewing Tea,* four pictures
*Four Flowing [Types of Qi],* one picture
*Asking about Chan,* one picture
*Spring Mountains,* one picture
*Double Screen,* one picture
*Being Obedient,* one picture
*The Old Story of Qiu Hu of Lu,* one picture[10]
*Zhong Kui's Younger Sister,* five pictures
*Lofty Leisure,* one picture
*Literary Gathering,* one picture
*Zhong Kui,* two pictures
*Court Women with Gold Hair Ornaments,* one picture
*Brewing Tea,* one picture
Sketch-copy of *Young Woman,* two pictures
*Court Women with Jade Girdle Ornaments,* one picture
*Poetic Intent, a Young Lady,* one picture
*Court Women Having Their Portraits Made,* one picture
*Court Women Playing Music,* three pictures
*Court Women Compounding Drugs,* four pictures
*Court Women Arranging Their Hair,* one picture
*Palace Women Playing Music,* one picture
*Music and Dancing,* one picture
*Yufei Roaming with Immortals,* one picture[11]
*Palace Women,* one picture
*Court Women on an Outing,* one picture
*Personages in the Liuli Hall,* one picture[12]

*Maitreya Bodhisattva,* two icons
*Long Life Preserve Fate Heavenly Worthy,* one icon
*Maitreya in his Palace in Tuṣita Heaven,* one icon
*Li Deyu Seeing Liu Sanfu,* one picture[13]

Shi Ke, who had the style name Zizhuan, was a man of Chengdu.[14] He was fond of humorous chatter and liked to argue. He was skilled at Daoist and Buddhist subjects and figures. Early on, he took Zhang Nanben as his master, but as his technique advanced, he grew increasingly free and ungoverned by any rules, so the personality and manner as well as the imagination [in his work] surpassed Nanben's considerably.[15] He loved to paint ancient and unconventional figures with fantastic forms and strange shapes. Though his style had lofty [elegance] and antique [simplicity], his ideas strove after novelty, so that his work was unable to avoid veering toward the weird. When the Later Shu kingdom under the Meng clan was pacified, he came to court, where he was ordered to paint murals at Xiangguo Monastery.[16] He was granted a position in the Painting Academy. He did not accept it, but forcefully requested to return to Shu. An edict permitted it. At present, there are twenty-one works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Most High,* one icon
*Saturn,* one icon
*Luohan,* one icon
*The Four Hoaryheads Playing Chess,* one picture
*Seven Worthies of the Mountain Grove,* three pictures
*Lokapālas Roaming,* one icon
*Women's Classic of Filial Piety,* eight icons[17]
*Roaming Knights-errant of Qingcheng,* two pictures
*Village Drinking Party,* two pictures
*Master Zhong Kui,* one picture

Li Jingdao was one of the relatives of the pretender Bian.[18] Jinling is renowned as a beautiful place. Its landscape and people are both elegant, and it is still possible to imagine the stylish manners of the aristocratic clans of Wang and Xie.[19] Though Jingdao did not possess the airs of an aristocrat, he was fond of "the reds-and-blues," probably due to being steeped in that rich and fragrant tradition. His painting, *Gathering of Friends,* shows the utmost imagination, which is why the eminent personages seen at the occasion of this banquet gathering are not inferior to the grandeur of those at the Orchid Pavilion in Shanyin.[20] At present,

there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Gathering of Friends*

Li Jingyou also was a relative of the pretender Bian and a brother of Jingdao.[21] Because he was equally elegant and accomplished, he was loved as much as Jingdao. His paintings of figures were extremely fine, and his *Talking about the Dao* shows figures with extraordinary manner and bearing, fluttering like immortals levitating. When Jing inherited from Bian,[22] all his brothers were made Princes, with only Jingyou not appearing to be honored by enfeoffment. As for his paintings, they have rarely been seen. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Talking about the Dao*

Gu Hongzhong was a man of Jiangnan, and he served the pretender Li as a Painter-in-Attendance.[23] He was good at painting, as seen particularly in his figure painting. At that time, the Secretariat Drafter Han Xizai, along with the scions of the aristocracy, was very fond of singing girls. He habitually held evening drinking parties where the guests mixed indiscriminately, shouting in their mad abandon, utterly without restraint. Because he cared for Han's talent, Li ignored it and did not inquire, but as word of it spread through the court and beyond, he was made aware of the extent of Han's dissipation. Though he wanted to see the clinking of cups at the candle-light banquets, he could not, so he ordered Hongzhong to go at night to Han's residence to spy on him, and from the memory of what Hongzhong witnessed, to paint a picture and submit it. And thus came to be *Night Banquet of Han Xizai.*[24] Even though Li was a usurper, he still should have observed the distinctions between ruler and subject. To have his subject's private impropriety depicted for viewing is excessively inquisitive. As shown by what Zhang Chang said [to his ruler] about there being more things [between husband and wife] than him painting his wife's eyebrows, it was indecorous [for Li to inquire].[25] All the more, why did he allow this thing he ordered made to circulate in the world?! It would have been better to look at it once and discard it. At present, there are five works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Minghuang Playing a Wutong [Wood Instrument],* four pictures
*Night Banquet of Han Xizai,* one picture[26]

Gu Dazhong was a man of Jiangnan.[27] He was good at painting figures and oxen and horses, but equally skilled at flowers and bamboo. He once did a painting on a horizontal screen in a boat at the Military Inspectorate[28] at Nanling after these lines by Du Mu:

> The water at Nanling spreads into the distance;
> The wind picks up, and the clouds gather, as it turns to autumn.
> Just when the traveler feels solitary and far from home,
> Who is that girl leaning out of the river pavilion?[29]

It showed considerable imagination, and viewers loved it, but since no one had heard of his name yet, it was not deemed valuable. Later a passing traveler who spent the night on the boat stole it. This is all the more lamentable, since his other extant paintings are few. As Gu Hongzhong was also good at painting, he was probably from the same clan. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Dissipations of Han Xizai*

Hao Cheng, who had the style name Changyuan, was a man of Jurong in the Jinling area.[30] He had grasped the technique of reading people's qualities from their physiognomies, so he excelled at painting portraits. It may be that since portraiture depends so much upon form-likeness, painters are often deficient in conveying the personality. Cheng went beyond the form to capture the subtleties of the divine spark and inborn disposition, which is why his works surpassed those of others. Cheng exerted himself in study for twenty years before his painting had skill, which established his reputation. His paintings of Daoist and Buddhist subjects and men and horses were much copied and circulated since his drawing was lucid and strong, and he was good at the application of color. At present, there are fourteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

Sketch-copy of *The North Polestar,* one icon
*Events in the Lives of Immortals,* one[31]
*Going out Hunting,* three pictures
*Men and Horses,* two pictures
*Washing Horses,* six pictures
*Letting Horses out to Pasture,* one picture

Tang Zisheng was a man of Shu.[32] He painted landscapes and figures with considerable skill. He was inclined to admire the reclusive and

untrammeled, so he often painted otherworldly subjects. In his painting of *Wen Xiao and Cailuan,* they float with the air of immortals and the frame of the Dao, obscured by mist and clouds, which makes you feel the sparkling air of West Mountain as though it were before your eyes.[33] His *Casting Mirrors* has circulated in the world.[34] Because they contain such truth, their marvels can compare with Creation itself. This is more than merely "the reds-and-blues." At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Secret Communion of Wen Xiao and Cailuan*
*Casting Mirrors*

The civil official Li Gonglin, who had the style name Boshi, was a man of Shucheng.[35] In the Xining period, he received the *jinshi* degree. His father Xuyi was successful in the exam for [men recommended as] Worthy and Excellent, Straightforward and Upright, and was appointed to serve as Assistant Minister in the Court of Judicial Review. He was posthumously honored with the merit title of Grand Master for Court Discussion of the Left. He was fond of collecting model calligraphy and famous paintings. When Gonglin was young, he read and viewed them, so he understood the brush conceptions of the men of antiquity. When he wrote regular-running script, he had the style of the regular script of the Jin and Song dynasties. His endeavors in painting were even more extraordinary and treasured by all. His studies were broad and his knowledge thorough; his range of interests was comprehensive. No matter what his eyes beheld, he instantly comprehended its salient points. When he began to paint, he studied Gu [Kaizhi] and Lu [Tanwei], as well as [Zhang] Sengyou and [Wu] Daoyuan, and high-quality works by the famous masters of the past, so that what was contained in his heart was very rich, and he gathered the strengths of this group to make them his own. Then when he determined to establish his own tradition, it was not as though he was slavishly following these earlier men, since he had actually studied their salient points on his own. As soon as he got hold of any famous painting, ancient or modern, he always copied it. This collection of duplicate versions is why his family had so many famous paintings, lacking nothing. He was especially skilled at painting figures and capable of differentiating appearances, so that at a glance a viewer could tell if they were high ministers at court, literati officials of the Academies and Institutes, recluses, village folk, townspeople, slaves, day-laborers, or menials. With regard to the motions and attitudes of the figures, no matter what facial expression or posture, station in life or moral condition, or what corner of

the realm they hailed from, with just a few strokes of the brush, he made their rank and station clear. This is not like the work of an ordinary painter, who would confuse them all, and no matter the figures' relative rank or attractiveness, could only differentiate the grossest opposites. Generally speaking, Gonglin put his emphasis on expressing ideas and made composition and costume details secondary. While common craftsmen might learn his delicate color-wash manner, they could never come close to his sketchy, simple style. This is probably because he had a deep understanding of the fundamentals of Du Fu's poetry and applied them to painting. For instance, when Du Fu wrote "The Ballad of Binding a Chicken," the focus was not on whether the chickens or the insects "got the better deal," but on the moment when he "fixed his eyes on the cold river, leaning against a pavilion in the hills."[36] When Gonglin painted "Returning Home" by Tao Qian, he did not focus on the fields, gardens, pines, or chrysanthemums, but on the place where he stood looking down at the flowing water.[37] When [Du] Fu wrote "My Thatched Roof Was Plucked up by the Autumn Wind," even though his quilts were torn and his house leaked, he did not look for pity, but rather he wanted to "broadly cover the poor scholars of all the world, all with joyous expressions."[38] When Gonglin painted *Yang Pass,* he considered the sadness of parting as a commonplace emotion, so he placed a fisherman on the bank sitting alone, forgetting the phenomenal world, unconcerned by feelings of sorrow and joy.[39] His other works are like this; it is up to the viewer to get it.[40] Thus, his creativity was like that of Master Wu; his unconventionality like that of Wang Wei. This is why the figures in his *Avataṃsaka Assembly* are comparable to [those in Wu Daozi's] *Hell Depictions,* and his *Longmian Mountain Villa* is comparable to [Wang Wei's] *Wang River*.[41] In these, he selected the most extraordinary achievements of prior generations and melded them into his own art, thereby surpassing the commonplace. Because so many of his works circulated in the world, anyone could investigate this. In his early days, Gonglin was fond of painting horses. He had studied Han Gan mainly and so could do his style with little variance. A monk told him he should stop this practice, for fear he would be reincarnated as a horse.[42] Understanding his warning, Gonglin switched to painting Daoist and Buddhist subjects and became even better at them. He once depicted the imperial horses in the Mounts Service, and he made many images of the excellent horses there, such as the one sent from Khotan in the west, the fine red horse, and the "embroidered shoulder" piebald.[43] It came to it that the grooms implored him [not to paint the horses any more], for fear the ones he painted would be taken away by the gods.[44] This is why he first gained fame for painting horses. As an official, he lived in the capital

for ten years, but he never spent time with the powerful or aristocratic. On his day of rest, if the weather was fine, he would leave the city carrying wine, bringing two or three comrades to visit famous gardens and shady groves. They sat on rocks, near the water, and passed the day unfettered. In those days, the wealthy and noble who wanted to obtain his works often used influence and courtesies to establish a relationship, but Gonglin firmly refused to respond.[45] As for notable men and exemplary scholars, even if they had passed their lives in obscurity, he never tired of interacting with them. He would wield the brush on impulse, without the slightest reluctance. Also, he painted ancient [jade ritual] implements such as *gui* and *bi*. He could fit the names to the actual objects with never an error. In his thirty years in service, he never forgot the hills and forests for a single day; therefore what he painted came from what was contained in his heart. In his later years, he suffered from rheumatism. He would moan in his sleep and extend his hand to draw brushstrokes on the quilt, as if he were painting. When a family member chided him, he laughed and replied, "I didn't realize my failure to 'eliminate traces of the habit' had gone as far as this!"[46] This is how fond he was of painting. When his illness improved a bit, seekers of paintings came again. Gonglin sighed and said, "I paint as a poet composes poems, merely to voice my natural disposition, so why are the people of this world not aware of this and only take my paintings for their amusement?" Later, when he made paintings as gifts, he often put veiled admonitions in them, in the same way that [Yan] Junping told people's fortunes in such a way as to make them reform. After his death, his paintings became increasingly difficult to obtain, and they commanded high prices. For this reason much profit was made from copies and fakes of his work, and those who were not profoundly versed in painting often accepted these forgeries. They could not, however, escape the eyes of connoisseurs. He retired with the prestige title of Gentleman for Court Service and died at home. To this day, all the officials of the realm honor him by not using his given name, but use his style name or his self-styled title, Retired Scholar of the Longmian Mountains. Wang Anshi was very cautious in making acquaintances, yet he spent time at Mount Zhong with Gonglin.[47] When it was time for Gonglin to depart, he wrote four poems to send him off, which were full of praise.[48] An examination of Gonglin's achievements in his life shows his literary compositions had the Jian'an style, his calligraphy was like that of the men of Jin and Song, his painting followed Gu and Lu, and as for his knowledge of ritual bronze vessels and ancient implements, it was encyclopedic, with which none of his generation could compare. When Duan Yi obtained a jade seal that he submitted to court, no one could decipher it. Gonglin was the first to read it, and all the other

scholars expressed their respect.[49] Because his official rank was minor, and he was stuck in low positions, he gained no great reputation, so he is only known for his painting. Now this detailed record is here to make clear his achievements. At present, there are one hundred and seven works kept in the palace storehouses:

Sketch-copy of *Mahābrahma,* two icons
*Gods of the Gates,* one icon
*Acalanātha,* one depiction
*Guardians of the Law,* five icons
*Guanyin,* three icons
*Auspicious Image Buddha,* one
*Avataṃsaka Sūtra,* six tableaux[50]
*Diamond Sūtra,* one tableau
*The Layman Vimalakīrti,* one icon
*Amitāyus,* one icon
*Chan Encounter,* one picture[51]
*Śākyamuni Buddha,* one icon
*Bodhisattva,* one icon
Sketch-copy of *Lady Māyā,* one icon
*Black-robed Monks,* one picture
*Intimate Bodhisattvas,* two icons[52]
Copy of Wang Wei's *Watching the Clouds,* one picture[53]
Copy of *Ten Kingdoms,* two pictures
Copy of *[Wang] Xizhi Writing on Fans,* one picture[54]
Copy of Lu Hong's *Thatched Cottage,* one picture[55]
Copy of Wang Wei's *Going into Reclusion at Mount Song,* one picture
*Cai Yan Returning to the Han,* one picture[56]
Copy of *Wang Wei,* one image
Copy of *Court Tribute,* two pictures
*Mountain Villa,* one picture[57]
*Writing on the Robe,* one picture[58]
*Returning Home,* two pictures
*Yang Pass,* one picture
*The Four Hoaryheads Playing Chess,* one picture
*Weaving a Palindrome into Brocade,* one picture
*The Women's Classic of Filial Piety,* two tableaux
*Drunken Monks,* one picture
*Seeking the [Philosopher's] Stone at Jade Ford,* one picture[59]
*Classic of Filial Piety,* one tableau
Copy of *Three Stones,* one picture
*Glass Mirror,* one picture

*Cut-branch Flowers, Sketched from Life,* two[60]
*Apricot-Blossom and Silver Pheasant,* one picture
*Chargers from the Imperial Stables,* one picture[61]
Copy of *Nine Tang Horses,* one picture
*Zhaojun Passing the Frontier,* one picture[62]
*Gushe,* one picture[63]
*Five Princes Returning Drunk,* one picture
*Cultivator-of-Dragons,* one picture[64]
Copy of *Jade Butterfly,* one picture[65]
*Riding the Wind Perfected One,* one picture[66]
*Outing on Horseback,* one picture
*A Small Painting Done for Amusement,* one picture[67]
*Handling High-Spirited Horses,* one picture
*Training Horses,* one picture
*Two Horses,* one picture
*The Nature of Horses,* one picture
Copy of *Horses* by Han Gan, two pictures
*Horses Sent as a Gift by Beian,* one picture
Copy of *Horses* by the King of Dongdan, one picture[68]
*Heavenly Horse,* one picture
*Men and Horses,* two pictures
*Submitting Horses,* one picture
*Barbarian Riders,* one picture
*The Nine Songs,* one picture[69]
*Patriarchs Transmitting the Dharma and Bestowing the Robe,* one picture[70]
*Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara, and Mahāsthāmaprāpta,* one icon
Sketch-copy of *Lady Manuṣya,* one icon[71]
*The Five Planets and Twenty-Eight Constellations,* one icon
Copy of *The Ten Great Disciples,* ten icons
Tracing Copy of Wu Daoyuan's *Guardians of the Dharma,* two icons[72]
Tracing Copy of *Seacoast* by Li Zhaodao of the Tang, one picture
Tracing Copy of Wu Daoyuan's *Four Guardians of the Dharma,* four icons
Tracing Copy of *Picking Melons* by Li Zhaodao of Tang, one picture
*Wang Anshi Free and at Leisure at Dinglin [Hermitage],* one picture[73]
*Danxia Visiting Layman Pang,* one picture[74]
Copy of Xu Xi's *Four-Sided Peonies,* one picture
Tracing Copy of *Barbarian Riders* by the northern caitiff [Li] Zanhua, one picture

The eunuch official Yang Riyan had the style name Xunzhi, and his family

had lived in Kaifeng for generations.[75] When Riyan was young he had ambition. He was fond of the histories and the classics, and his studies focused on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. His speech and conduct were such that even poets and writers wanted to socialize with him. His calligraphy in seal, clerical, and *bafen* scripts could join that of the ancients. His small paintings were particularly interesting, and among these, his portraits were especially exquisite. He had no position of influence when Emperor Shenzong recognized his talent and promoted him into the company of his personal attendants. For the palace waiting rooms, he depicted likenesses of the rulers, ministers, and worthies of antiquity, and he painted the portrait of the Qinsheng Xiansu Empress.[76] In the Jianzhong jingguo era, a portrait was to be made of [Emperor Huizong's late mother] the Qinci Empress Dowager, but since none of the painters on staff was able to capture her likeness, Riyan was ordered to depict her from memory.[77] As he drew, people surrounded him to watch. They all put their hands to their brows [in reverence to her], then began to cry. Their expressions of how lifelike it was show how he had reached the utmost of excellence in skill. He did mountains and forests, streams and rocks, and figures. His remote vistas were lonely and sparse, with an atmosphere and tone that was lofty and superior. This is nothing with which ordinary paintings can compare. In official position, he retired with the posts of Congratulatory Commissioner and Jinzhou Surveillance Commissioner. He was granted the posthumous title of Military Commissioner of the Zhaohua Army and the posthumous epithet of "Correct and Unruffled." At present, there are four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Autumn Mountains, Level Distance,* one picture
*Lofty Recluse on a Bridge over a Stream,* one picture
*Court Women,* two pictures

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1. For Zhou (act. ca. 940–975), see ZGMSJRMCD, 475; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 52–60; Soper, *Experiences,* 50, 89, 101; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 36; Mi Fu is the source for the description of the "trembling, dragging look," which is also used in the entry on Li Yu in chapter 17 (Mi, *Hua shi,* 155). See also "Chou Wenchü," by James Cahill, in Herbert Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies,* 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976), 2:28–31.

2. This statement was likely taken from the discussion of the differences in these two styles from the entry on his contemporary Cao Zhongxuan, in Liu, *Wudai minghua buyi,* 106–107.

3. If this happened in the Shengyuan period (937–943), the ruler should be Li Sheng, the founder of the Southern Tang state, not Li Yu. "Nanzhuang" probably

refers to the scenery around Nanjing. See Soper, *Experiences,* 101.

4. "In the Kaibao period" (968–976) would seem to be a euphemism for Li Yu's submission to the Song in 975.

5. Possibly one of the pictures called *Five Princes Drinking Koumiss;* see Soper, *Experiences,* 89.

6. Literally, "the Xie woman," which could refer to Xie Daoyun, a female poet of Jin times, or more generally, a young woman.

7. The tenth-century monk Wenyi was given this posthumous epithet by Li Jing, second emperor of Southern Tang.

8. Probably this shows an imaginary view of extensive palace buildings and grounds, even though the palace was not completed before the death of its patron, the First August Emperor of Qin (r. 221–210 BCE).

9. Li Jilan (713–784) was a female poet and Daoist. See Xin Wenfang (act. 13–14th c.), *Tang caizi zhuan* (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1960), 2.13.

10. This probably shows a man propositioning a woman at the roadside, following the story of the faithless husband Qiu Hu from *Lienü zhuan.* For a translation, see Anne Behnke Kinney, *Exemplary Women of Early China: The Lienü Zhuan of Liu Xiang* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 99–100.

11. This is probably Yang Guifei, after her death and arrival in the land of immortals, since Yufei is one name given her in the "Song of Everlasting Sorrow" (*Chang hen ge*), by Bai Juyi (772–846).

12. One of Li Yu's halls. See Yu, *Xuanhe huapu,* 124n9.

13. Liu Sanfu was a filial man who gained fame for his literary skills. When Li Deyu was an official in the Zhejiang West Circuit, he admired Liu's literary compositions and hired him, then brought him along to the capital when he was made grand councilor, where Liu was awarded high positions. See Liu, *Jiu Tang shu,* 174.4528.

14. See ZGMSJRMCD, 176; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 99–104; Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue," 26–27; Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 180; Soper, *Experiences,* 18, 49, 53; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 50 and 91–92.

15. Here is the first of nine uses of the venerable and elastic term *qiyun* 氣韻 in the *Catalogue.* It also occurs in the entries for Yan Riyan, Sun Keyuan, Zhao Mochuo, Hu Zhuo, Zhao Zonghan, Tang Xiya, and Li Po, as well as the Prefatory Explanation for "Landscape." Translation of this term, generally understood as originating in Xie He's "Six Laws" of ca. 535, has a long history in Chinese, Japanese, and Western scholarship, which I will not recapitulate here. My thinking on this is informed by Martin J. Powers, "Character *(Ch'i)* and Gesture *(Shih)* in Early Chinese Art and Criticism," *International Colloquium on Chinese Art History,* 1991, 4 v. (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1992), II:909–931. My scheme is as follows: if *qiyun* refers to people or animals, I translate it as "personality and manner." If meant as a quotation from Xie He, I use the old-fashioned "spirit resonance," in order to set it off. When used to describe landscape, I translate it as "atmosphere and tone."

16. Later Shu lasted from 934 to 965, founded by Meng Zhixiang (874–934). His son Meng Chang (919–965), ruled from 934 to 965, when he submitted to Song. He died soon after. Charles Lachman calls him "an earnest patron of the arts" (*Evaluations,* 33n112). He brought the court artists Huang Quan and Huang Jucai to Song with him.

17. In imitation of the *Classic of Filial Piety,* this text prescribing virtuous behavior for women was written by Lady Zheng, the wife of Chen Miao, in the Tang dynasty. It became popular in the Five Dynasties period. See Julia K. Murray, *Ma Hezhi and the Illustration of the Book of Odes* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press,

1993).

18. Li Bian (889–943) was the founder of the Southern Tang dynasty, posthumously called Liezu, who ruled from 937 to 943. For Jingdao, see ZGMSJRMCD, 386.

19. The names Wang and Xie stand for all the Six Dynasties aristocrats of the south whose cultural sophistication is presented in such works as A New Account of Tales of the World (*Shishuo xinyu*).

20. The Wang and Xie clans and their friends gathered at the Orchid Pavilion in Shanyin in 353 for the Spring Purification Festival, during which they drank wine and wrote poems. The Preface to the gathered poems, written by Wang Xizhi (303–361), is considered the most famous work of calligraphy in Chinese history.

21. See ZGMSJRMCD, 386.

22. Jing (916–961) was Bian's eldest son and the second ruler of Southern Tang, ruling from 943 to 961.

23. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1543; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 61–63.

24. Two studies of the painting of Han Xizai (902–970) are Michael Sullivan, *The Night Entertainments of Han Xizai* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008) and De-nin D. Lee, *The Night Banquet: A Chinese Scroll through Time* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010).

25. Zhang Chang was in charge of Luoyang under Emperor Xuan of Han (r. 74–48 BCE). When the emperor asked Zhang about his practice of painting his wife's eyebrows, Zhang is said to have replied, "In private, between husband and wife, there are more things than painting eyebrows." See Ban, *Han shu,* 76.3222.

26. There is some question as to whether the picture of this subject now in the Beijing Palace Museum is the same painting listed here, as it appears to be a Southern Song copy. See Wu Hung, *The Double Screen: Medium and Representation in Chinese Painting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 48.

27. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1532, where Yu Jianhua observes it is hard to believe this is not an error for Gu Hongzhong. Guo Ruoxu mentions a figure painter named Gu Hongzhu, who may have lived during the Southern Tang or early Song. See Soper, *Experiences,* 51.

28. Reading *xun jian si* 巡檢司 for *xun bu si* 巡捕司. The former is found in Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 2724, and is a Song office for militia training and other military functions in the provinces.

29. This poem by Du Mu (803–852) is called "On the Nanling Road" and is found, with minor variation, in Du Mu, *Fanchuan shi ji zhu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), 363.

30. For Hao (act. second half of 10th c.), see ZGMSJRMCD, 764. See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 54, under Ho Ch'eng, and Soper, *Experiences,* 51, under Hao Ch'u.

31. Since there is no measure-word here, such as "picture" or "icon," I take this to be a sketch from a mural. See also the entry for Xu Zhichang in chapter 4.

32. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1084.

33. One version of the love story of the scholar Wen Xiao of the Wu Kingdom and the immortal woman Cailuan at West Mountain (near modern Nanchang) is found in Lin Kun (14th c.), *Chengzhai zaji,* in *Siku Quanshu Wenyuange Electronic Edition* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2000), 1.32.

34. This may be the same picture recorded by Zhou Mi as *Huangdi Casting the Bronze Mirrors,* which was inscribed by Li Yu and Emperor Huizong. See Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record,* 115.

35. For Li (ca. 1041–1106), see ZGMSJRMCD, 347; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia*

*shiliao,* 450–554; Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 444.13125–13126; Wang Cheng (act. 12th c.), *Dongdu shilüe,* in *Siku Quanshu Wenyuange Electronic Edition,* 116.6b–7a; Hsio-yen Shih, "Li Kung-lin," in *Sung Biographies,* 2:78–85; Richard Barnhart, *Li Kung-lin's Classic of Filial Piety* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993); Robert E. Harrist, Jr., *Painting and Private Life in Eleventh-Century China: Mountain Villa by Li Gonglin* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998). See also Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue," 22–24. For much of the substantial literature on Li Gonglin, see the bibliography in Pan An-yi, *Painting Faith: Li Gonglin and Northern Song Buddhist Culture* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007). See also Julia K. Murray, "Representation and Literati Values: Li Kung-lin and Narrative Illustration," in Wang, ed., *Conference on Founding Paradigms,* 559–573.

36. See Owen, trans., *Poetry of Du Fu,* 5:29–31. Du Fu's poem is in Peng, ed., *Quan Tang shi,* 221.2334.

37. For this poem, see A.R. Davis, *T'ao Yüan-ming, A D 365–427: His Works and Their Meaning,* 2 vols. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1:191.

38. See Owen, trans., *Poetry of Du Fu,* 3:43; Peng, ed., *Quan Tang shi,* 219.2309–2310.

39. In the entry on Wang Wei in chapter 10, it says, "[H]is poem 'Sending off Second Yuan to Serve in Anxi' was expanded into the picture, *The Song of Yang Pass."* For more on this subject, see Elizabeth Brotherton, "Two Farewell Handscrolls of the Late Northern Song," *Archives of Asian Art* 52 (2000/2001):44–62.

40. I have benefitted from the translations in Ebrey, *Accumulating Culture,* 283–284, and Ronald Egan, "The Emperor and the Ink Plum: Tracing a Lost Connection between Literati and Huizong's Court," in *Rhetoric and the Discourses of Power in Court Culture: China, Europe, and Japan,* ed. David R. Knechtges and Eugene Vance (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 128.

41. See, for example, the set of poems by Su Zhe about Longmian Mountain Villa, done after "Wang River." Reproduced in Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 468–469. Harrist says this is the earliest comparison (*Painting and Private Life,* 68–69). For *bianxiang* as "depictions," see the Yang Tingguang entry in ch. 2.

42. This monk was Fayun Faxiu (1027–1090). Pan notes that this anecdote was widespread in Song times. See Pan, *Painting Faith,* 5.

43. These are the first three horses in Li's scroll of *Five Tribute Horses.* The identifying inscriptions were recorded by Zhou Mi. See Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record,* 98, for a translation, and 315 for the Chinese text.

44. According to Zhou Mi, this had happened. He quotes a colophon by Zeng Yu (1073–1135), who wrote, "In 1090 … Huang Tingjian was inscribing a label slip for Li Gonglin's painting of the imperial horses … Huang said to me: 'Strange, indeed, was Li's painting of Manchuanhua of the Imperial Stable; he lowered his brush, and the horse died! Apparently, the spirit of the divine steed was completely drawn away by the tip of Li's brush.'" See Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record,* 99.

45. Apparently a paraphrase of Liu Daochun's statement about Gao Keming: "Now, if someone sought one of his works with wealth and influence, he would reply that he could not do it, but if a friend wanted to see a painting for his own pleasure, Keming would always give it to him gladly." See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 60.

46. This comment refers to the line in Wang Wei's poem where he says he was a "painting master" in a former life, hence "[now] cannot get rid of [all] traces of the habit." See Soper, *Experiences,* 79.

47. Wang (1021–1086) invited Li to visit him at his studio at Dinglin Hermitage. See

the notice in Li's nephew Zhang Cheng's *Hualu guangyi,* in *Meishu congshu,* Huang Binhong (1865–1955) and Deng Shi (1877–1951), eds., 30 vols. (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1975) 16, 4 *ji,* 2 *ji,* 65.

48. Nishino Teiji attempted to identify these four poems as including "Two Poems on Seeing Li Shushi," a line from which was quoted by Li's nephew Zhang Cheng in his *Hualu guangyi* entry. These are translated in Robert E. Harrist, Jr., "A Scholar's Landscape: *Shan-chuang t'u* by Li Kung-lin," PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1989, 20–23. The other two Nishino identified as "Ti Dinglin bi huai Li Shushi" (Longing for Li Shushi, written on a wall of Dinglin) and "Song Li Mijiao nan gui" (Seeing off Editor Li as he returns to the south). See Nishino Teiji, "Ri Korin Hokusō bunjinga no kyohaku no kakei to gyōseki ni tsuite," *Osaka shiritsu daigaku bunkakubu: Jimbun kenkyū* 25, no. 1 (1973):94–95. For the poems, see Wang Anshi, *Wang Linchuan quanji* (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1961): 29.162, 26.142, and 24.130.

49. The Song dynastic history gives credit for reading the seal to Li Gonglin in his biography, but credits Cai Jing in Cai Jing's biography and in the annals of Emperor Zhezong. For Li's biography, see Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 444.13125–13126, and for Zhezong's Annals, see ibid., 18.349. See also Robert E. Harrist, Jr., "The Hermit of Lung-mien: A Biography of Li Kung-lin," in Barnhart, *Li Kung-lin's Classic of Filial Piety,* 46–47.

50. Pan describes these as sets of illustrations of the sutra. See Pan, *Painting Faith,* 47.

51. On the possible contents of this picture, see Pan, *Painting Faith,* 136.

52. This could be any of the four bodhisattvas who intimately serve the five dhyāni-buddhas in the Diamond World mandala. Each has four bodhisattvas in attendance.

53. Likely a representation of the poem "Sitting and Watching the Clouds Rise," by Wang Wei.

54. Outside a market one day, Wang asked an old woman who was selling fans what they went for. She said, "Twenty cents or so." He then picked up her fans and wrote five characters on each of them. She became extremely upset and accused him of ruining them. He replied, "If you say this is the calligraphy of Wang Xizhi, they'll each fetch a hundred." See Yu He (act. ca. 465–471), *Lun shu biao* (dated 470), in Zhang Yanyuan, ed., *Fashu yaolu,* 2.31.

55. See the entry for Lu Hong in chapter 10. See Harrist, *Painting and Private Life,* 80–82.

56. The poet Cai Yan, or Cai Wenji, was the daughter of the high official Cai Yong (132–192). She was seized by the Xiongnu and only ransomed by Cao Cao (155–220) twelve years later.

57. According to Zhou Bida (1126–1204), quoting from the lost epitaph of Li Gonglin, an "official version" of a *Mountain Villa* picture in the imperial collection was stolen by the eunuch official Liang Shicheng. See Harrist, *Painting and Private Life,* 29, and Zhou Bida, "Ti Li Gonglin *Shanzhuang tu,"* in *Wenzhong ji* (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1971), 47.19. See also Heping Liu, "Empress Liu's *Icon of Maitreya:* Portraiture and Privacy at the Early Song Court," *Artibus Asiae* 63, no. 2 (2002):174–175n139.

58. Yang Xin was taking a nap when Wang Xianzhi entered his study, so Xianzhi wrote some calligraphy on the skirt of his pure-white silk robe. When Xin awoke, he was delighted and treasured it ever after. See Yu He, *Lun shu biao,* in Zhang Yanyuan, ed., *Fashu yaolu,* 2.32.

59. Jade Ford (Yujin) is short for Bi-disc Jade Ford (Biyujin), a place east of modern

Chengdu that is mentioned in the "Rhapsody on the Shu Capital" by Zuo Si (250–305).

60. The term I translate here as "sketched from life" is *xiesheng* 寫生. To explain *xiesheng* here, Yue Ren refers to a line of poetry by Su Shi, from the poem "Writing on a Cut-branch Painting by Assistant Magistrate Wang of Yanling": "Bian Luan brought out the vividness of sparrows; Zhao Chang transmitted the spirit of flowers." Yue explains *xiesheng* as "depicting a material object," but adds that it means "bringing out its vividness." See Yue, *Xuanhu huapu,* 163n63. This explanation does not fit the grammar of the *Catalogue,* however, where terms such as this that precede the subject matter in a painting title almost invariably refer to painting techniques. In the *Catalogue,* the term *xiesheng* appears to be used in two different ways. In titles of flower paintings by masters who worked in color, I translate it as "drawing-under-color," following the description of this technique by Shen Kuo, who gives it this name in a discussion of Xu Xi and Huang Quan. See Shen, *Mengxi bitan jiaozheng,* 17.555, translated in Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 126–127. Shen wrote that the flower-painters in the Huang family were skilled in the application of color and their use of the brush was so delicate that you could scarcely see the lines of ink; their pictures were finished with light washes of color, a technique known as *xiesheng.* Since Li Gonglin had no reputation as a bird-and-flower painter, I translate *xiesheng* here as "sketched from life."

61. Yue suggests this may be an illustration of the poem on a horse painting by Du Fu of the same name, "Tianyu Piaoqi ge." See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 163n65, and "A Song for the Fleet-mount of the Imperial Stable," in Owen, trans., *Poetry of Du Fu,* 1:198–201.

62. A concubine of Emperor Yuan of Han (r. 48–33 BCE) who refused to bribe the court painter and so was painted as unattractive. The emperor passed her over, but when the Xiongnu envoy came to select brides for his lord's harem, she asked to go with him, which was when the Chinese emperor saw her and realized she was the most beautiful of all.

63. Yu Jianhua says this is the goddess of Gushe Mountain, in Shanxi (Yu, *Xuanhe huapu,* 135n30), while Yue Ren suggests Gushe is a generic name for a female divinity or a lovely woman (Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 164n68).

64. In the *Zuo zhuan,* Duke Zhao, year 29, the historian Cai Mo (6th–c. BCE) stated that since dragons were raised in antiquity, there was an official post called Cultivator-of-Dragons. See James Legge, *The Chinese Classics,* 5 vols. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), 5:729.

65. "Jade butterfly" can mean the Indian trumpet flower (Oroxylum indicum), but since this plant only grows in the far southern borderlands of China, I suspect it is the name of a horse.

66. This may represent Liezi or an immortal. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 164n70.

67. Dong You used this term "for amusement" (*youxi* 游戲) to describe Li Gonglin's mindset in painting. See Dong, *Guangchuan huaba jiaozhu,* 5:337. Han Zhuo said of Wang Shen that he "amused himself with small paintings." See Foong, *Efficacious Landscape,* 212.

68. The King of Dongdan was Li Zanhua; see his entry in chapter 8.

69. A set of poems in the *Chuci,* attributed to Qu Yuan, personified as images of the male and female nature deities addressed in the poems. See Deborah Del Gais Muller, "Li Kung-lin's 'Chiu-Ko T'u': A Study of the "Nine Songs" Handscrolls in the Sung and Yuan Dynasties," PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1981.

70. See Pan, *Painting Faith,* 115–116.

71. Manuṣya means “human beings.” According to Indian tradition, Maheśvara created eight women, the sixth one being called Manu. She subsequently became the progenitor of the human race. Here, “Lady Manuṣya” is likely an image of this woman. See Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms,* 435.

72. I am using “tracing copy” to render *mo* 摹. For all five items described as “tracing copies,” the original painting is found in the *Catalogue* under the entry for the artist.

73. In 1076, Wang was dismissed from office and went into reclusion in Nanjing, at the Dinglin Hermitage at Mount Zhong. Wang was said to have entertained Li at his studio there, and Li painted his portrait.

74. Pang Yun was a famous lay Buddhist in the Yuanhe period (806–821) of the Tang dynasty. His lifelong friendship with Danxia Tianran was the subject of many Chan stories. For more information and discussion of a painting of this subject attributed to Li Gonglin, see Pan, *Painting Faith,* 136–146.

75. He served at court from around 1068 to after 1112, but was deceased by 1120. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1176.

76. This was Shenzong’s empress, née Xiang (1046–1101).

77. This was the empress née Chen (1058–1089), who would have been deceased for over ten years in 1101 when the story took place. Here and throughout, I am translating *huashi* 畫史 as “painters on staff” or “staff painters” because *shi* 史is a lower-level, unranked post, equivalent to a staff member. See Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 5199.

# Chapter Eight

## Prefatory Explanation for Architecture

In High Antiquity, [people] dwelled in nests and lived in caves, and there was as yet no architecture. In later ages, they made "palaces and buildings, towers and pavilions, and doors and windows" as protection from the wind and rain, and people no longer constructed nests and grottoes to live in.[1] It seems they took the idea from the *Dazhuang* [hexagram] in the *Book of Changes*.[2] Since there are standards for palaces and buildings, and systems for towers and gates, they could be misused by Wenzhong's [hall for his great tortoise] "with the hill-pattern on its pillar tops and the duckweed pattern on its king-posts."[3] Since painters rely on such [systems] to describe [architectural] forms completely, how could they create towers and pavilions and doors and windows that merely had an imposing appearance? Since every dot and stroke must be made by marking-line and square, it is difficult to have skill, compared to other types of painting. This is why no one with any skill from the Jin and Song periods through the Liang and Sui has been known. In the more than three hundred years of the Tang dynasty and the Five Dynasties period, only Wei Xian gained fame from painting architecture. Once Guo Zhongshu appeared in this dynasty, he could be compared to those of Wei Xian and his generation, but the rest of them do not count. The lofty [elegance] and antique [simplicity] of Guo Zhongshu's paintings, however, are not easy for ordinary people to comprehend, and there were few who did not laugh on seeing them. As for "hollowing out a tree trunk to make a boat and carving wood to make an oar,"[4] as well as the methods for

making carriages and chariots, since they involve calculations, they are similar to architecture, which is why they are appended here. That the paintings of only four men from the Tang and Five Dynasties period to this dynasty have been handed down indicates how hard it is to have skill at painting that adheres to the standards of measurement. Handling the compass and square and the yardstick without getting in a predicament, with the lofty [elegance] and antique [simplicity] of Zhongshu—how could there be anyone like this again? Artists who followed after him included those such as Wang Guan,[5] Yan Wengui,[6] and Wang Shiyuan,[7] but since they were originally treated as menial servants, they are not recorded in this *Catalogue*.

## Architecture, including Boats and Vehicles

Tang
    Yin Jizhao
Five Dynasties
    Hu Yi, Wei Xian
Song Dynasty
    Guo Zhongshu

Yin Jizhao's hometown is unknown.[8] He was skilled at painting figures and towers and halls. He surpassed all others in his day, probably because of his specialized study. All his works, such as *The Tower of Gusu* and *The Epang Palace,* constituted an exhortation or admonition.[9] They were nothing that common painters could achieve, for the articulation and the spacing of their multitudinous galleries and myriad pillars were entirely systematic. Hidden within are the mathematician's formulas of multiplication and division, which may be called the secret of his success. An examination of the rhapsody by Du Mu shows it is not without exaggeration, yet even though the admonitions written by poets are very deep and penetrating, painting can express what they cannot.[10] At present, there are four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Palaces of Han,* one picture
*The Tower of Gusu,* two pictures
*The Epang Palace,* one picture

Hu Yi, whose style name was Pengyun, was skilled at painting Daoist and Buddhist subjects and figures, but he was particularly accomplished at carriages and horses and towers.[11] At that time, Commandant Zhao Yan had earned a name for painting, yet when he saw Yi, he treated him with every courtesy.[12] Yi enjoyed making copies of famous paintings, both ancient and modern, and he inscribed on them, "Recorded by Pengyun of Anding." His pictures of *The Tower of Qin, The Wu Palace,* and *Winding Carts* have circulated in the world.[13] At present, there are eight works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Tower of Qin and the Wu Palace,* six pictures
*Winding Carts,* two pictures

Wei Xian was a man of Chang'an.[14] During the time of the Li of Jiangnan, he served as a Palace Attendant. He excelled at buildings, lookouts, and figures, and he once did a *Spring River* picture, on which Li inscribed his "Fishermen Songs." The complexity and richness of his high cliffs and large rocks is well worth [praise or study], but his texture-stroke method is not mature. Although his forests and trees are firm and upright, the branches are not balanced with the roots, for which the critics slighted him.[15] His best passages, however, were rarely reached by the men of Tang, and what is important is that many of them are worthy of [praise or study]. At present, there are twenty-five works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Master Qian Lou,* one picture[16]
*The Madman of Chu, Jieyu,* one picture[17]
*Lao Laizi,* one picture[18]
*Wang Zhongru,* one picture
*Yuling Zi[zhong],* one picture[19]
*Liang Boluan,* one picture[20]
*Luohan,* one picture
*Dwelling by a Stream,* one picture
*The Snow Palace,* one picture[21]
*Dwelling on a Mountain,* one picture
*The Sluice Gate and Winding Carts,* one picture[22]
*Winding Carts on a Snowy Ridge,* one picture
*Lofty Scholars in a Bamboo Grove,* one picture
*Lofty Dwelling on a Snowy River,* one picture
*Buildings and Lookouts in Snow,* one picture
*Mountain Dwellings in Snow,* two pictures

*Luohans Crossing the Water,* one icon
*Stories of Immortals,* two pictures
*Monk in a Mountain Cave,* one picture
*The Road to Shu,* two pictures
*Winding Carts,* two pictures

Guo Zhongshu had the style name of Guobao, but his place of birth is unknown.[23] At the court of Zhai Shizong,[24] he passed the Classicist examination in the middle rank and held a succession of offices. When Zhongshu came to the [Song] court, the August Emperor Taizong admired Zhongshu's reputation for virtue and gave him a special promotion to the post of Erudite to the Sons of State. Zhongshu wrote in seal script and clerical script, which overruled all study of such scripts since the Wei-Jin period. He enjoyed painting buildings, lookouts, terraces, and pavilions, but they were so lofty and antique that when his paintings were displayed in public, no one saw them as worth buying. Not long after, a man in Qiantang surnamed Shen obtained a painting by Zhongshu. Every time he showed it to people, they all laughed heartily, and it was only many years later that someone appreciated it as a work by Zhongshu. As Han Yu said about writing: "From time to time, one has to write some poor common essay in order to fulfill some obligation, and though such works are disgusting, when you show them to people, they actually consider them good."[25] Unhappily, the difficulty in finding someone to appreciate ancient-style prose is just like this. Now, the same could be said of Zhongshu's painting. Zhongshu was a man who lost himself in painting, and after he left office in Jiangdu, no one knew where he was for the next week or so. Several years later, he met up with Chen Tuan at Mount Hua and was never heard from again.[26] Likely he became an immortal and departed.[27] At present, there are thirty-four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Yin Xi Asking about the Dao,* one picture
*Emperor Minghuang at the Palaces for Escaping the Heat,* four pictures
*The Palaces for Escaping the Heat,* four pictures
*The Palaces for Escaping the Heat at Shanyin,* four pictures
*Stories of Flying Immortals,* one picture
*The Nine Luminaries,* one icon
*Buddhist Monastery in Snowy Mountains,* one picture
*Mountain Dwellings with Buildings and Lookouts,* one picture
*Weaving a Palindrome,* three pictures
*Summer Lake Scene,* two pictures

*Wooden Carts, Bridges, and Pavilions,* one picture
*Water Pavilions and Sunlit Towers,* one picture
*Temporary Palaces,* two pictures
*Playing the Flute,* one picture
*Ladies in Buildings and Lookouts,* three pictures
*Wang Bo Wielding the Brush at the Gallery of the Prince of Teng,* four pictures

## Prefatory Explanation for Barbarian Tribes

Untying their rude and unadorned hat-strings to offer obeisance at the imperial court and lifting the two hands they use to pull weapons from their sleeves with the intention of adopting the imperial calendar, they scale mountains and cross seas to bow their heads to the floor and declare themselves vassals, "wishing to be given a place to live and become one of your subjects."[28] As for those who sent their sons and younger brothers to be educated, who gladly offered tribute goods, and who hurried to become "guests" here, although they came from strange lands far away and their manners and customs are very different, still they were never rejected by the wise rulers of earlier times. This is why "Barbarian Tribes" is seen within the tradition of "the reds-and-blues." When painters focus on the things they like to use for hunting with dogs and horses, such as the bows and knives hanging from their belts and the bows and arrows they carry under their arms, though this seems quite denigrating [to these people], [the painters] are actually just treating barbarian customs lightly to demonstrate the sincerity of their reverence for Chinese culture. Now, there were five men who were known to paint them, from the Tang to this dynasty. In the Tang, there was Hu Gui and Hu Qian, while in the Five Dynasties period, there were Li Zanhua and the others, all of whom had brush techniques worth perpetuating. Though Li Zanhua came from the northern caitiffs, he became the King of Dongdan; thus he did not paint Chinese costumes, but instead his familiar native customs. Hence, the peoples of the five directions, though their tools and machines are made differently, and their clothing is distinctive, can all be investigated through examining pictures of them.[29] Later, there were Gao Yi,[30] Zhao Guangfu,[31] Zhang Kan,[32] and Li Cheng.[33] Although they were famous in their day, Guangfu allowed vigorous brushwork to dominate, so his tone became vulgar, whereas Kan and Cheng insisted on form-likeness but lacked vigorous brushwork.[34] None could combine strength in both areas.

Therefore, they were not entered into this *Catalogue.*

## Barbarian Tribes, including Barbarian Beasts

Tang
    Hu Gui, Hu Qian
Five Dynasties
    Li Zanhua, Wang Renshou, Fang Congzhen

Hu Gui was a man of Fanyang.[35] He was skilled at painting barbarians and their horses, and although his compositions were clever and detailed, with realistic variety, his brushwork was clear and strong. The various furnishings of their yurts and the paraphernalia of archery and hunting he described completely, down to the last detail. When painting camels and horses, he always used a wolf-hair brush to apply the colors, which captured their vitality and worked well for modeling their forms. Pictures of his that circulated include *Seven Riders in the Yin Mountains, Resting after the Ride, Stealing Horses,* and *Skillful Marksmen.* Later his brush method was continued by his son Qian.[36] Mei Yaochen once inscribed a painting by Gui called *Dismounted Barbarians,* in which were the lines:

> Yurts set up in rows, surrounded by hanging screens;
> Drums and horns have not yet sounded, to startle the wild goose into flight over the frontier.

As well as:

> What clever brushwork on these six lengths of white silk!
> Who can comprehend the marvelous paintings of Hu Gui?[37]

From this praise by Yaochen, we can see that Gui was definitely not someone who was taken lightly. At present, there are sixty-five works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Stopping for a Rest,* two pictures
*Herding Horses,* ten pictures
*Barbarians and Camels,* one picture
*Barbarian Riders,* six pictures

*Herding Horses on a Mountain Slope in Autumn,* one picture
*Barbarians Stealing Horses,* one picture
*Barbarians on a Morning Outing,* two pictures
*Barbarians Herding Horses,* one picture
*Barbarians Hunting with Bows on Horseback,* one picture
*Mounted Archers,* one picture
*Reporting the Dust,* one picture[38]
*Barbarian Horses Kicking up Dust,* one picture
*Barbarians Resting after the Ride,* seven pictures
*Barbarians Stopping for a Rest,* three pictures
*Barbarian Marksmen,* two pictures
*Barbarian Tribesmen Stopping for a Rest,* one picture
*Marksmen Riding in Pairs,* one picture
*Barbarian Rider Turning on the Slope,* one picture
*Herding Camels on the Desert,* one picture
*Barbarian Riders Going out Hunting,* one picture
*Hunting with Bow and Arrows,* six pictures
*Herding Camels,* one picture
*Barbarians Hunting with Falcons,* one picture
*Stopping for a Rest in a Tent Encampment,* one picture
*Barbarians Herding Horses,* one picture
*Barbarians Drawing Water from a Spring,* one picture
*Herding on Distant Plains,* one picture
*Barbarian Troops Herding Horses,* one picture
*Hunting with Falcons,* two pictures
*A Pair of Horses,* one picture
*Barbarians Stopping for a Rest on Distant Plains,* two pictures
*Barbarians Hunting with Bow and Arrows on Horseback,* one picture
*Seven Riders Hunting with Bow and Arrows on Distant Plains,* one picture

Hu Qian was a man of Fanyang.[39] He gained fame by learning how to paint the barbarian horses of his father, Gui. Everyone believed Qian produced "the reds-and-blues" in his father's style. Even though pictures by Gui such as *Seven Riders, Resting after the Ride, Skillful Marksmen,* and *Stealing Horses* were circulated, Qian's success at the family style is well known, which means it may not be possible to distinguish genuine works [by Gui] from [works by Qian] falsely [attributed to Gui]. At present, there are forty-four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Barbarians Resting after the Ride,* eight pictures
*Barbarian Tribesmen Resting after the Ride,* one picture

*Barbarians Stopping for a Rest,* five pictures
*Barbarians Setting Off,* one picture
*Barbarian Tribesmen Setting Off,* three pictures
*Barbarian Tribesmen Resting after the Ride,* four pictures
*Hunters on Horseback on a Level Distance,* one picture
*Barbarians Stealing Horses,* one picture
*Barbarians Herding,* three pictures
*Skilled Marksmen on Barbarian Mounts,* one picture
*Barbarian Riders Drawing Water,* one picture
*Barbarian Tribesmen Hunting with Bows,* one picture
*Barbarian Tribesmen Herding,* one picture
*Barbarian Tribesmen Holding Falcons,* one picture
*Skilled Marksmen,* one picture
*Hunting on Horseback,* two pictures
*Barbarian Riders,* four pictures
*Barbarians and Horses,* one picture
*Screened Encampments of Barbarians,* one picture
*Barbarians Hunting on Horseback,* two pictures
*Seven Riders Hunting with Bows on a Level Distance,* one picture

Li Zanhua, the northern caitiff, was the King of Dongdan.[40] His original name was Tuyu, and he was the eldest son of Baoji.[41] In the Tongguang period of Tang, he participated in his father's campaign against the city of Fuyu in the state of Bohai.[42] After its fall, the name of the state was changed to Dongdan, and Tuyu was made the King of Dongdan.[43] To evade pursuit by his [younger] brother Deguang, who had succeeded to the throne, he crossed the sea and reached Dengzhou [in modern Shandong], where he submitted to China. This was in the twelfth month of the sixth year of the Changxing era of Emperor Mingzong of Tang.[44] Emperor Mingzong treated him very generously, granting him the surname Dongdan and the personal name of Muhua. Since he came from Liaodong, Ruizhou was made into the Huaihua Command, and he received the posts of Military Commissioner of Huaihua and Surveillance Commissioner for Ruizhou and Shenzhou. He was later granted the surname Li, and his personal name was changed to Zanhua. When he crossed the sea to submit to China, he carried books with him in several thousand scrolls. He was especially fond of painting and often depicted people of high position and tribal chieftains, with their knives hidden in their sleeves, the slingshots carried in their coats, the yellow [dogs] held by the leash, the grey [falcons] riding on their shoulders, the "rude and unadorned hat-strings" they wore, and their extraordinary saddles and bridles. He did not do the costumes of China, but only the customs

familiar to him. However, as for what the critic said, that "his horses, though sleek and plump, were drawn with a brush lacking in virility," is this an accurate critique?[45] At present, there are fifteen works in the palace storehouses:

*A Pair of Horsemen,* one picture
*Hunting on Horseback,* one picture
*Horsemen in Snow,* one picture
*Barbarian Riders,* six pictures
*Men on Horseback,* two pictures
*The Thousand-Horned Deer,* one picture[46]
*Jishou and Riders Dashing Along,* one picture[47]
*Mounted Archers,* one picture
*Jurchen Hunting on Horseback,* one picture

Wang Renshou was a man of Wan, in Ru'nan.[48] He served as a Painter-in-Attendance during the time of the Jin dynasty of the Shi clan.[49] He painted demons and gods at Buddhist shrines in the style of Master Wu, as well as horses and other subjects. Once he painted *The Eight Bodhisattvas* in the Pure Land Cloister of the Xiangguo Monastery, and people thought it was by Master Wu. Although this can no longer be disputed, it does indicate the depth of his study. Since he did Buddhist paintings, most were done on the walls of buildings, which over the long years were destroyed, so exceedingly few remain. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Camel*

Fang Congzhen was a man of Chengdu, skilled at painting figures and barbarian riders.[50] He once painted a screen wall in the Shu palace with *Zhuge Liang Leading His Troops across the Lu River*. The arrangement and placement of the armored horses were absolutely true-to-life. In recent times, the excellence of Zhang Kan at painting barbarian horses is due to Kan being a northerner. Now even though Congzhen was a man of Shu, he was able to paint the horses and tent encampments of barbarians. Since these were things he had never seen, they would not have been easy to grasp. Though screen walls are different from silk and paper, they all present difficulties, so it is fitting to bestow rewards to encourage [artists to paint on them]. Pity no one could hide [his murals] in sealed cabinets, for over time they have been destroyed. At present, there are eight works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Barbarian Tribes Resting after the Ride,* one picture
*Sketch of Men and Horses from the Western Regions,* one picture
*Resting after the Ride,* two pictures
*Taming Horses to Play Polo,* one picture
*Xue Tao Writing Poetry,* one picture[51]
*Catching Fish,* one picture
Sketch-copy of *Emperor Minghuang of Tang,* one portrait

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1. This paraphrases the birth of architecture described in the Liyun chapter of *Liji*. See *Shisan jing,* 1:763.

2. Dazhuang is the 34th hexagram in the *Yijing*. The commentary states that its two trigrams represent "thunder" over the heavens. As the ancients believed the heavens took the form of a round canopy over the earth, this hexagram was understood as symbolizing thunder and rain over the rain-preventing canopy and thus the divine inspiration for architecture. See *Shisan jing,* 1:40.

3. Waley, trans., *Analects,* Gongye Chang chapter, 47. This was a royal level of decor and inappropriate for the housing of an animal, which means that Zang Wenzhong, who was a high official in the state of Lu in the seventh century BCE, was either ignorant or presumptuous.

4. Quoting *Xici xia* commentary to the *Yijing*. See *Shisan jing,* 1:81.

5. See ZGMSJRMCD, 147; Soper, *Experiences,* 18, 48; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 16–17, where Liu Daochun treats Wang Guan (act. mid–10th c.) as the preeminent figure painter in his "inspired" class. Wang was poor as a youth, but not described as a menial.

6. Yan (967–1044) was of humble origin and began life as a soldier, but ended up in the painting academy of Emperor Taizong. His skill as a landscape painter is praised in the entry for Qu Ding in chapter 11. For other sources, see ZGMSJRMCD, 1402; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 253–258; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 52–53, and 61; Soper, *Experiences,* 58 and 19, where Guo says Yan Wengui and Wang Shiyuan were "estimable enough," but seen as lesser masters. See also Hsioyen Shi, "Yen Wen-kuei," in Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies,* 2:151–154.

7. Actually, Wang (act. second half of the 10th c.) is in chapter 11, as a landscapist. His father, Wang Renshou, is treated below in chapter 8. For Wang Shiyuan, see Soper, *Experiences,* 12, 19, 45, 156n428; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 29–30, 60, 74, 95.

8. Yu Jianhua, in ZGMSJRMCD, 32, places him in the period of Emperor Xizong (r. 874–888), although THJWZ lists him among artists active in the first years of the 10th c. See Soper, *Experiences,* 9, 26, 37.

9. The Tower of Gusu was built for leisure on Mount Lingyan, west of Suzhou, by King Fuchai of Wu (r. 495–473 BCE). The tower was destroyed and its location forgotten. The Epang Palace was considered the largest palace complex ever laid out, but only the Forehall was completed before the death of its patron, the First August Emperor of Qin. See David W. Pankenier, "The Cosmic Center in Early China and its Archaic Resonances," in *Archaeoastronomy and Ethnoastronomy: Building Bridges between Cultures,* ed. Clive L.N. Ruggles (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 299. Images of such buildings are admonitory because they were exorbitant, hubristic endeavors that were left incomplete or destroyed soon after the death of

their sponsors.

10. "Rhapsody on the Epang Palace" (*Epanggong fu*) by Du Mu lavishly describes its beauty and how it was burnt to the ground. Du's intent was admonition against over-expenditure on lavish buildings, which impoverishes the people.

11. Hu Yi was active in the early tenth century. This entry is simply abridged from THJWZ. See Soper, *Experiences,* 28; see also 27, 139n288. See ZGMSJRMCD, 633; Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue," 25.

12. This is the Later Liang Imperial son-in-law, whose entry is in chapter 6.

13. Yue believes the Tower of Qin refers to the Phoenix Tower built by Duke Mu of Qin (659–621 BCE) for his daughter Nongyu, as described in Liu Xiang's *Liexian zhuan*. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 174n2 and the entry for her husband Xiaoshi, in Kaltenmark, trans., *Le Lie-sien Tchouan,* 125–127.

14. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1419; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 44–46; Soper, *Experiences,* 37, 38, 150n380; Huang, *Wudai minghua buyi,* 110.

15. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1419, where Yu Jianhua says the criticism *Xuanhe huapu* levels against Wei Xian is not reliable. Indeed, no such criticism is found in any other treatment.

16. Qian's wife said of him, "He was not distressed by poverty or low position, and he was not pleased by wealth and honor." See Kinney, trans., *Exemplary Women of Early China,* 38–39.

17. In the "Weizi chapter" (Book 18) of the *Analects,* the Madman warned Confucius of the perils of holding office. See D.C. Lau, trans., *Confucius: The Analects* (*Lun yü*) (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1983), 183. Qiao Kuicheng (act. ca. ea. 1270s–ea. 1300s) owned two pictures by Wei Xian, called *Lofty Scholars*. One depicted Liang Boluan and the other Jieyu, the Madman of Chu. The painting in the Beijing Palace Museum with a title inscribed by Emperor Huizong, reading "Wei Xian, Lofty Scholar: Liang Boluan," may be one of this pair. See Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record,* 70 and 251–252.

18. He is described in "The Wife of Lao Lai of Chu," in Kinney, trans., *Exemplary Women of Early China,* 42–43, and in Berkowitz, trans., "Biographies of Recluses," in Swartz et al, *Early Medieval China: A Sourcebook,* 341.

19. He is described in "The Wife of Wuling of Chu," in Kinney, trans., *Exemplary Women of Early China,* 43–44. All four of these wives advised their husbands not to be seduced by offers of high rank.

20. See Berkowitz, "Biographies of Recluses," in Swartz et al, eds., *Early Medieval China: A Sourcebook,* 345–346.

21. Mencius advised King Xuan of Qi on good government in his Snow Palace, in *Mencius,* "Liang Huiwang *xia,*" See Lau, trans., *Mencius,* 1:31.

22. Heping Liu renders this title as *The Sluice Gate with Freight Carts*. See Heping Liu, "'The Water Mill' and Northern Song Imperial Patronage of Art, Commerce, and Science," *The Art Bulletin* 84, no. 4 (Dec., 2002):566.

23. For Guo (ca. 920–977), see ZGMSJRMCD, 951; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 178–194; Toghto, et al, *Song shi,* 442.13087–13088; Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue," 24–25; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 93–94; Soper, *Experiences,* 12, 44–45, 155n421; Hsio-yen Shih, "Kuo Chung-shu," in Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies,* 2:69–76.

24. This is Zhai Rong (921–959), who occupied the throne of the Later Zhou dynasty (951–960) from 955 to 959 and was canonized as Shizong.

25. From Han's letter to Feng Su (767–836) on literature.

26. Chen Tuan (c. 989) was a semi-legendary Daoist practitioner who was said to have developed a *gongfu* system at Mount Hua. He was said to have refused to serve Emperor Taizong of the Song, who nevertheless bestowed upon him the epithet "Master of the Inaudible and Invisible" (Xiyi zhushi). See Kohn, ed., *Daoism Handbook,* 118–119.

27. SCMHP says his makeshift tomb on the southern frontier was opened and found to be empty, so people of the time thought he had become a Transcendent. See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 93.

28. A man from Chu came to Teng and said to the ruler, "I, a man from distant parts, have heard that you, my lord, practice benevolent government. I wish to be given a place to live and become one of your subjects." See Lau, trans., *Mencius,* Tengwengong *shang* chapter, 1:103.

29. Since the five directions are east, west, north, south, and center, this means the "barbarians" of the four quadrants plus the Chinese, who occupy the center.

30. Of Khitan origin, Gao (act. late 10th c.) served as a Painter-in-attendance at the court of Song Taizong. See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 23–25, 74, 91; Soper, *Experiences,* 18, 47–48, 51, 162n442.

31. THJWZ says Zhao (act. late 10th c.) served as a Scholar of Arts in the painting academy of Emperor Taizu (r. 960–976) of the Song, while SCMHP says he was offered an appointment as an Apprentice in the painting academy of Emperor Taizong, which he declined. See Soper, *Experiences,* 48, 162n446. Liu Daochun ranked him as the best painter of animals; see Lachman, *Evaluations,* 22–23, 68–69.

32. Praise for Zhang Kan (act. ca. early 11th c.) is quoted in the entry for Fang Congzhen in this chapter. THJWZ said, "His horses eclipse those of the mere artisans who were his predecessors, and at the present time he has no peer." See Soper, *Experiences,* 68; ZGMSJRMCD, 860.

33. Yue Ren thinks this is Li Cheng, the landscape painter treated in chapter 11. Since there is no record of any Li Cheng painting of barbarians, this is hard to credit. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 180n11. I think it is a mistake. The authors may have meant Lao Cheng, who was a specialist in landscape in the period from 1068–1086, or Li Xicheng, an academy painter whose name was taken in homage to Li Cheng. See Deng, *Huaji,* 6.377–378.

34. Reading *qigu* 氣骨 as *guqi* 骨氣, or "vigorous strength" in brushwork.

35. See ZGMSJRMCD, 634; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 789–794; Liu, *Wudai minghua buyi,* 108–109, under Hu Guishan; Soper, *Experiences,* 25–26, 136n257. On the problem of the ethnicity and dynastic affiliation of Hu Gui and Hu Qian, see Marilyn Gridley, "Liao Painting and the Northern Grassland School," in Judith Smith, ed., *Tradition and Transformation: Studies in Chinese Art in Honor of Chu-tsing Li* (Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art, The University of Kansas, 2005), 28–54, and Irene S. Leung, "'Felt Yurts Neatly Arrayed, Large Tents Huddle Close': Visualizing the Frontier in the Northern Song Dynasty (960–1127)," in Nicola DiCosmo and Don J. Wyatt, eds., *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries, and Human Geographies in Chinese History* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 192–219.

36. This portion of the entry is a close paraphrase of the entire entry in THJWZ. See Soper, *Experiences,* 25–26.

37. See Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 791–792, for this poem.

38. Probably riders going to report seeing the dust of distant troop movements.

39. See ZGMSJRMCD, 625; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 789–794; Soper, *Experiences,* 26.

40. For Li (899–936), see ZGMSJRMCD, 410; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 784–788; Toghto et al, *Liao shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 64.973 and 72.1209–1211; Liu, *Wudai minghua buyi,* 109; Soper, *Experiences,* under Dongdan, Prince of, 27, 139n284. See also the rather similar description of Li Zanhua written in 1105 by Luo Ji in Wang He and Zhen Li, ed., *Songdai yizhu ji kao* (Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 2003), 405. My translation is indebted to François Louis, "The Cultured and Martial Prince: Notes on Li Zanhua's Biographical Record," in Wu Hung, ed., *Tenth-Century China and Beyond: Art and Visual Culture in a Multi-Centered Age* (Chicago: The Center for the Art of East Asia, University of Chicago, and Art Media Resources, 2012), 319–349.

41. This is Yelü Abaoji, Emperor Taizu of the Liao Dynasty, r. 907–927.

42. The Tongguang period (923–926) was in the Later Tang dynasty (923–937).

43. The Yuan edition has the name Tuyu here in smaller characters in a double column, as if interpolated.

44. There was no sixth year of the Changxing era.

45. The critic in question was Guo Ruoxu. See Soper, *Experiences,* 27.

46. According to Dong You, this picture was in the Palace Library. In 1105, an edict came down saying that the palace would be taking it. Dong's description of this deer makes clear that it did not literally have a thousand horns, but was still prodigious. In Soper's translation, Dong described it like this: "The antlers of the deer rise straight up, forking out the way a wisteria vine grows on diagonal lines for support, to a length three times that of the body. Opening out (in this way), the clustering horns (are like) a row of trees in a forest." Dong opined that it must have been an auspicious image. See Soper, *Experiences,* 203n695; Dong, *Guangchuan huaba jiaozhu,* 1.25.

47. Jishou was the first ancestor of the Yelü clan. See Louis, "Cultured and Martial Prince," 341.

48. For Wang (act. ca. 930–960), see ZGMSJRMCD, 61; Liu, *Wudai minghua buyi,* 107; Soper, *Experiences,* 37, 47, 150n377; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 18 and 18n14.

49. This is the Later Jin dynasty (936–946).

50. For Fang (act. ca. 907–925), see ZGMSJRMCD, 517; Soper, *Experiences,* 33, 35, 146n341; Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 139–140, 165.

51. A poet who followed her father when he was posted from Chang'an to Chengdu, Xue Tao (768–831) befriended several important poets there, including Bai Juyi.

# Chapter Nine

## Prefatory Explanation for Dragons and Fish

Under the hexagram *qian* in the *Book of Changes,* dragons are described as appearing in the fields, in the deep, and in the heavens, as an illustration of the speed of their transformations, never subject to control or domestication, and as a metaphor in "it furthers one to see the great man."[1] In the poem "Fish and Water-Plants" from the *Book of Songs,* it says "beautifully streaked are their heads," "very pliant are their tails," and "snuggling close to their reeds" to explain how they can swim so deep and far, while "forgetting each other in rivers and lakes" is a metaphor for worthy men who are difficult to call into service.[2] When they composed the *Book of Changes* and revised the *Book of Songs,* the sages of former times did not neglect dragons or fish. Painting may be a lesser Way, but pictures of fish and dragons are still worth viewing, since they manifest the inner meaning of the *Songs* and the *Changes*. Although the appearance of dragons cannot be grasped, still Master Ye loved them so much that a real dragon came to him.[3] Thus the painting of dragons has a long tradition. Once Cao Fuxing of the Wu Kingdom saw a red dragon emerge from the waters of a stream, so he depicted it in order to present it to Sun Hao.[4] People of the time considered it inspired. In later times, his tradition was lost, until the Five Dynasties period, when Chuangu got it. His untrammeled qualities were beyond what any of the ancients could have achieved. In this dynasty, Dong Yu gained fame in his day for his depictions of dragons in water; truly he was the finest painter of recent times. As fish are a delight to the senses, there should be many who could

paint them, yet painters often portray them as if they were lying on the kitchen table, failing entirely to convey the very life force with which they ride the wind and break the waves. This practice has not escaped the criticism of contemporaries. Yuan Yi of the Five Dynasties period gained fame by specializing in painting fish and crabs, while in this dynasty, the scholar Liu Cai was also known for them. Thus we know that the world will not lack their followers. Arranged chronologically, from the Five Dynasties period through this dynasty, are eight men. Other related categories of aquatic creatures are appended at the end. As for Xu Bai, Xu Gao, and those of their generation,[5] they were also famous in their day for painting fish; however, their paintings do not show them in the poses of surfacing to open and close their mouths, which only makes people salivate. In order not to further "riverbank hopes,"[6] they were not recorded in this *Catalogue*.

## Dragons and Fish, including Aquatic Creatures

Five Dynasties
    Yuan Yi, Monk Chuangu
Song Dynasty
    Kexiong, Shunuo, Dong Yu, Yang Hui, Song Yongxi, Liu Cai

Yuan Yi was a man of Dengfeng, Henan, who served in the Imperial Bodyguard.[7] He was good at painting fish. Having thoroughly mastered their movements and attitudes, he captured the look of them opening and closing their mouths as they swam, not like something in the kitchen, such as common painters produce, which only serves to make gluttons salivate. At present, there are nineteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Fish Swimming,* six pictures
*Fish Playing,* two pictures
*A School of Fish,* one picture
*Fish Weaving through Bamboo,* one picture
*Fish and Crabs,* one picture
*Fish and Shrimp,* two pictures
*Drawing-under-color Sea-perch,* one picture
*Bamboo Shoots and Bamboo,* three pictures
*Bamboo and Rocks,* one picture

*Crabs,* one picture

Monk Chuangu was a man of Siming.[8] Naturally intelligent, he entered [the Way] through skill solely in the painting of dragons. He was quite famous in the Jianlong period, and as he got older, his brush-force became increasingly vigorous. Sketchy and effortless, its lofty [elegance] and antique [simplicity] were nothing common painters could achieve. Since dragons are not something mortal eyes have ever seen, it should be easy to be skilled [at painting them], yet because of their "three stops and nine resemblances," and their undulating appearance as they ascend and descend,[9] as well as their life-force in the lakes and seas, winds and waves, few painters have made their name at it. Chuangu alone specialized in this discipline, so naturally his fame has continued. A screen painted by him in the Huangjian Precinct was called a masterpiece in his day. At present, there are thirty-one works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Dragons Tumbling through Mists and Playing in Waves,* two pictures
*Dragons Weaving through Rocks and Playing in Waves,* two pictures
*Dragons Calling in Mists and Playing in Water,* two pictures
*Dragons Leaping in Mists and Emerging from Waves,* two pictures
*Dragons Calling in Mists and Leaping through Waves,* one picture
*Dragons Climbing Mountains and Leaping in the Mist,* two pictures
*Dragons Leaping in Mist and Playing in Water,* one picture
*Dragons Weaving through Rocks and Emerging from Water,* two pictures
*Dragons Weaving through Mountains and Frolicking in the Waves,* two pictures
*Dragons Emerging from Water and Playing with a Pearl,* one picture
*Pair of Dragons Playing in the Clouds,* one picture
*Dragons Playing in the Water,* four pictures
*Dragons Emerging from a Cave,* one picture
*Dragons Playing with Pearls,* two pictures
*Dragons Emerging from Water,* one picture
*Auspicious Dragons,* one picture
*Dragons Calling,* one picture
*Dragons Playing,* one picture
*Dragons Playing in Water,* one picture
*Seated Dragons,* one picture

Kexiong, of the royal house, was a talented son of the aristocracy.[10] His play with brush and ink was not stifled by luxury and rank. When he

painted swimming fish, though he utterly captured their floating and sinking movements, unfortunately he had never seen their life-force amid vast waves and great breakers on lakes and seas, which would have helped his work attain magnificence, so all he could get were the delights of the ponds and tanks between the capital and Luo[yang].[11] In official position, he reached General-in-Chief of the Right Militant Guard and Military Training Commissioner of Zhangzhou. He was also granted the post of Military Commissioner of the Baokang Army and given posthumous enfeoffment as Marquis of Gaomi. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Swimming Fish*

Shunuo, of the royal house, was good at painting.[12] He was quite successful with birds and fish, and each work from his brush accorded with the methods of the poets. Whenever he composed and painted a picture, although the scenes and figures were few, the ideas were many, which allowed viewers to exercise their imaginations. In the past, Wang Anshi wrote a quatrain that read:

A sandy islet, blanketed in snow, as the waters flow by,
drowsy ducks amid patchy reeds are obscured by mist.
Northerners returning home all remember this scene,
and screens are painted with it by every artist there.[13]

Shunuo's paintings all accord with this kind of poetic sentiment as well as having a lofty tone. He served as Defense Commissioner of Puzhou and was posthumously granted the post of Junior Preceptor. At present, there are seventeen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Lively Fish Playing in Watergrass,* two pictures
*Fish Swimming amid Lotuses,* two pictures
*Cluster of Mussels,* two pictures
*Swimming Fish,* four pictures
*Beautiful Birds on a Peach-Lined Stream,* one picture
*Nesting Birds on an Autumn River,* one picture
*Playing in Watergrass,* one picture
*Swimming Fish Frolicking in the Duckweed,* one picture
*Water Pouring into a Lotus Tank,* one picture
*Geese Startled from a Snowy Islet,* one picture
*School of Fish Weaving through Watergrass,* one picture

Dong Yu, whose style name was Zhongxiang, was a man of Piling.[14] He was good at painting fish and dragons in oceans and rivers. He never depicted them in ugly places like shallow muddy water or trying to swim in a dry rut. He liked to paint them at the Gates of Yu or Mount Dizhu,[15] riding the great winds and crashing through ten-thousand-*li* waves, emerging and descending into terrifying thunderclouds and furious breakers, and he perfectly captured the look of fish and dragons reappearing in the distance. Did his works express nothing more than their magnificence? He served as Painter-in-Attendance to the pretender Li Yu, and later he followed Yu when he submitted himself to the capital, where he was ordered to become a Scholar of Art in the Painting Academy. Now in the Qingliang Monastery in Jinling are an inscription in *bafen* script by Li Yu, cursive calligraphy by [Li] Xiaoyuan,[16] and a painting of the sea by Yu, which were considered "Three Perfections." Since Yu stammered, he was called Dumb Dong in his day. Once after the August Emperor Taizong ordered him to paint murals in the Duangong Hall, someone who saw them took fright. For this reason, they were whitewashed over, and in the end Yu never got his reward.[17] Not long after, he painted waters on the north wall of the Jade Hall, which were turbulent and surging.[18] From a distance it appeared as though one were approaching remote islands in a misty river, and despite its size, the water was so expansive one could not make out the far shore. Song Bai was a famous man in his day. One look and he clapped his hands in admiration. He composed a poem on it, and one striking line read: "Glancing to the side, I became aware that I was approaching the three mountains; as the whole wall came into view, I shivered inwardly, though it was early summer."[19] How empty could Yu's fame have been? At present, there are fourteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Dragons Vaulting through Clouds and Emerging from Waves,* one picture
*Dragons Leaping in Mist and Playing in Water,* two pictures
*A Dragon and Her Offspring Emerging from Mountains,* one picture
*Dragons,* two pictures
*Dragons Fighting on the Sand,* two pictures
*Dragons Playing with Pearls,* three pictures
*Dragons Emerging from Water,* one picture
*Dragons Weaving through Mountains,* one picture
*A Fisherman on the River Playing a Flute,* one picture

Yang Hui was a man of Jiangnan.[20] He was good at painting fish, capturing the way they raise their fins and wave their dorsal fins, and he showed

them glinting in clear shallow waters, among the floating duckweed and watergrass. He fully explored the way they look swimming up and down, undulating and jumping. Many fish painters today fixate on the number of their scales. Some are threaded on willow twigs; others are on dry land, gasping for breath and without any vitality. Hui alone did not adhere to these common practices, but [showed them] mouthing willow catkins and making ripples amid peach blossoms, and when he "took his cue from the fishes," it was often visible in the works of his brush.[21] Even though his viewers felt as though they were on the bridge over the Hao River, he could not escape the reproof of other painters.[22] At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Swimming Fish,* one picture

Song Yongxi was a man of Shu.[23] To paint flowers, bamboo, birds, fish, and crabs, he studied [the work of] Liang Guang.[24] He was good at the application of colors. In general, the study of "the reds-and-blues" flourished particularly under the Two Shu, and many painters were skilled at figures and at Daoist and Buddhist subjects.[25] Since the time when the retired gentleman Diao Guang[26] entered Shu and Huang Quan began to study with him,[27] those who studied flowers, bamboo, and birds have turned them into specialized subjects, but in the end none could compare to Quan for his breadth of abilities. Yongxi was also one of these later talents, who was able to establish his own tradition. At present, there are four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Drawing-under-Color Lotus Flowers,* two pictures
*Fish and Crabs,* two pictures

The civil official Liu Cai, whose style name is Hongdao, drifted to the capital as a youth, where he lived a wild and unfettered life with no responsibilities.[28] He gave himself up to poetry and wine, having some ability at song lyrics, and he passed his days with young men of noble families. He was good at painting fish, and he had a profound grasp of the way they play in expanses of waves, floating and dipping, "forgetting each other in rivers and lakes." When the fins and scales are distinguished clearly in a painting of fish, that is not a fish in water, and how could it have the natural look of swimming underwater? If they were in water, they could not be exposed like that. Cai's fish paintings were very successful in this regard. Other painters who painted fish all did the out-of-water type of scales, which have little value. Because of this, he

established himself as a specialist, and he was much praised by scholars. He never had to settle down, but came and went in the homes of the nobility. One day a great snowfall blocked the streets, so he closed his door and did not emerge. The friends he usually spent time with asked themselves, "In the past, Cai has come after a snowfall, so why not this time?" After several days, his friends went to see him, imagining he must have collapsed. He answered them by shouting through the door: "I'm snowed in, but not dead, and since I have spent a lot of time not going out drinking with you, [I've realized] I'm wearing shoddy clothes and living in a wreck of a house. I had nothing to do, so I wrote a memorial, which I'm going to submit to the emperor. If I get the chance to meet him, I'm going to give him a piece of my mind." His friends laughed at him. Not long after, he submitted what he had written, and Emperor Shenzong appreciated it so much that Cai was made an official. He held various appointments at the prefectural and district level and now holds the prestige title of Gentleman for Court Service. At present, there are thirty works kept in the palace storehouses:

*School of Fish Playing in Algae,* one picture
*School of Whitefish Playing in Watercress,* one picture
*Playful Fish Swimming in Duckweed,* one picture
*Playful Fish in Overhanging Bamboo,* one picture
*School of Fish Playing in Watergrass,* one picture
*School of Carp Chasing Shrimp,* one picture
*Mandarin Fish Playing in Watergrass,* one picture
*Fish Swimming,* nine pictures
*Fish in Algae,* five pictures
*Fish and Crabs,* one picture
*Fish Playing in Watergrass,* one picture
*Swimming Fish Playing in the Water,* one picture
*Turtles and Fish,* one picture
*Fish in Algae,* two pictures
*Peonies and Swimming Fish,* one picture
*Lotus Flowers and Swimming Fish,* one picture
*Swimming Fish Weaving through Watergrass,* one picture

1. The dragon is a metaphor for the "great man." See *"Qian,"* in *Yijing,* in *Shisan jing,* 1:1; *The I Ching, or Book of Changes,* trans. Wilhelm and Baynes, 8–9.

2. "Fish and Water-Plants" is in the *Xiaoya* section of the *Book of Songs.* See *Shisan jing,* 1:330, and *The Book of Songs,* trans. Arthur Waley, rev. ed. (New York: Grove Press, 1996), 210. "Forgetting each other in the rivers and lakes" is better for fish than

being marooned on dry ground, which is Zhuangzi's metaphor for following the Way instead of involvement in Confucian morality. See ch. 6, "The Great and Venerable Teacher," and ch. 14, "The Turning of Heaven," of *Zhuangzi.* See Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 80 and 163.

3. A story is told about Master Ye's supposed love of dragons in Liu Xiang's *Xinxu* (*Miscellaneous Affairs* 5, no. 137), in which the point was that Master Ye loved the image of the dragon, not the real thing. He decorated his house with images of dragons because he supposedly loved them so much, yet was frightened out of his wits when a real one actually showed up.

4. See the entry on Cao Fuxing in chapter 5.

5. THJWZ reports that Xu Bai and his elder brother Xu Yi were renowned painters of fish. Yi was said to be a Scholar of Arts "at the present time." See Soper, *Experiences,* 70. Xia Wenyan (ca. 1312–ca. 1367–1370) identified Xu Bai's clansman Xu Gao as having skill at painting fish. See Xia, *Tuhui baojian buyi* (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962), 104.

6. Quoting Liu An (179–122 BCE), *Huainanzi,* ch. 19, "Shui lin xun" chapter, no. 16: "Standing on a riverbank and hoping for a fish is not as good as going home to weave a net." This expression is taken here to mean vain hopes and unrealistic actions. The authors have cleverly used a fishing metaphor to discuss suitable models for teaching fish painting.

7. This entry paraphrases that in THJWZ. See Soper, *Experiences,* 27. See also ZGMSJRMCD, 761, and Lachman, *Evaluations,* 70, under Yuan O.

8. Siming is modern Ningbo. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1170; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 138–141; Soper, *Experiences,* 21, 39, 152n396.

9. This alludes to the discussion of dragon painting in THJWZ. See Soper, *Experiences,* 11.

10. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1277–1278; Toghto et al., *Songshi,* 238.8255.

11. This is a paraphrase of Huang Tingjian's criticism of Zhao Lingrang's painting, that he only saw the scenery between Kaifeng and Luoyang. See Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 411.

12. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1280; Toghto et al., *Songshi,* 238.8243.

13. The poem is called "Sandy Islet" (Dingsha 汀沙). Here, *zhou* 洲 has been substituted for the original *sha* 沙 , as the second character in the first line. See Wang Anshi, *Wang Linchuan quanji,* 33.187.

14. Piling could refer to modern Changzhou, Jiangsu, or Dantu, near modern Zhenjiang, Jiangsu. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1224–1225; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 134–137; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 75–76; Soper, *Experiences,* 69, 71, 89, 96, n. 396, n. 568.

15. The "Gates of Yu" is another name for the Dragon Gate (Longmen) on the Yellow River at the border of Shanxi and Shaanxi provinces, where sheer cliffs rise. Mount Dizhu is the name of an island in the Yellow River, now ruined, which stood in the waters like a pillar, at modern Sanmen xia in Henan Province.

16. THJWZ also calls him Li Xiaoyuan, suggesting this is the source for this entry. See Soper, *Experiences,* 69. SCMHP calls him Li Suyuan. See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 75, who suggests this may be the Li Xiaoyuan, a cursive script master, who has an entry in *Xuanhe shupu,* 18.332.

17. SCMHP says the "someone" was Emperor Taizong's Heir Apparent, who was a child at this time. Soper, *Experiences,* 69.

18. See Scarlett Jang, "Realm of the Immortals: Paintings Decorating the Jade Hall

of the Northern Song," *Ars Orientalis* 22 (1992):86–87. She quotes Su Yijian as saying the water murals were on the east and west walls, contradicting the account here. Su Song (1020–1101) noted that the north wall bore a mural by Juran (Ibid., 87–88).

19. The Three Mountains are the islands of the immortals in the Eastern Sea: Fanghu, Penglai, and Yingzhou. See Jang, "Realm of the Immortals," 86, for a translation of the first half of this poem. She says this poem, like all by Song Bai (936–1012), is no longer extant, but only quoted here in *Xuanhe huapu* (n33).

20. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1194 for Hui 暉, which refers to the entry for Hui 輝, 1199; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 70. Guo Ruoxu lists him with Song-dynasty painters, but the designation "of Jiangnan" often indicates the artist worked for Li Yu and then transferred to the Song court (Soper, *Experiences,* 70).

21. "Taking his cue from the fishes" refers to the natural, unselfconscious movements of fish. See "Xu Wugui" chapter of *Zhuangzi,* in Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 277.

22. No such criticism is found in THJWZ or SCMHP. The reference to the Hao River seems to allude to the anecdote in *Zhuangzi* where Zhuangzi and Huizi are looking at the fish in the Hao River and arguing about whether they could know what the fish enjoy. See Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 188–189.

23. See ZGMSJRMCD, 323.

24. See the entry on Liang Guang in chapter 15.

25. That is, Former Shu (907–925) and Later Shu (934–965).

26. This should be Diao Guangyin, whose entry is in chapter 15.

27. See the entry on Huang Quan in chapter 16.

28. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1319. A handscroll in the Saint Louis Art Museum, called *Fish Swimming amid Falling Flowers,* is attributed to Liu Cai.

# Chapter Ten

## Prefatory Explanation for Landscape

The sacred mountains are stabilizing, the rivers are numinous; the seas contain us, and the earth sustains us. These spiritual expressions of creation, the brightness and darkness of shadow and sunlight, and distances of ten-thousand *li* can be captured in a square foot. Yet [if an artist] does not have these "hills and streams" in his breast, it will be obvious in the forms he makes that he does not understand them. From the Tang to this dynasty, those who gained fame for painting landscapes were not classed as painters, for they mostly emerged from the ranks of the officials and scholars. Because those who attain "spirit resonance" may be lacking in "brush method," while some who attain "brush method" may be deficient at "composition," it is hard to find one man in this world who has all the skills.[1] Now the men of old had "streams and rocks as their innards and mists and auroras as their chronic complaint" and were derided as recluses and hermits.[2] This being so, if the landscapes they put into painting were marketed in the thoroughfares, people might look but would not necessarily buy. Li Sixun, Lu Hong, Wang Wei, and Zhang Zao in the Tang dynasty, as well as Jing Hao and Guan Tong in the Five Dynasties period, did not just grasp the subtleties of painting, but were also unexcelled in their lofty character. Yet as soon as Li Cheng emerged in this dynasty, even though he took Jing Hao as his master, he was praised as "[the indigo dye that is] bluer than the indigo plant," and the methods of all others were then swept away without a trace. Though men such as Fan Kuan, Guo Xi, and Wang Shen certainly each established

his own tradition, still they all took but one aspect of his style, without being able to discern his secrets. A total of forty famous artists are treated thoroughly in the *Catalogue,* so their names are not repeated here. Shang Xun, Zhou Zeng, and Li Mao were known for landscape, but since Shang Xun's fault lay in awkwardness, while the error of Zhou Zeng and Li Mao was artifice, they did not achieve the combination of strengths of the men of old.[3] They are not recorded in the *Catalogue* because this has already been settled.

## Landscape, One, including eroded rocks

Tang
Li Sixun, Li Zhaodao, Lu Hong, Wang Wei, Wang Qia, Xiang Rong, Zhang Xun, Bi Hong, Zhang Zao, Jing Hao
Five Dynasties
Guan Tong, Du Kai

Li Sixun was of the Tang royal house.[4] Between his younger brothers and nephews, there were five men who had extraordinary skill at "the reds-and-blues," though Sixun was the most valued in his day.[5] In official rank, he reached the post of General of the Left Militant Guard. In all types of painting he was unsurpassed, but he was particularly skilled at mountains, rocks, forests, and streams. His brushwork and style were vigorous, and he captured effects that are difficult to describe, such as water rushing in shallows or obscuring mists and auroras. In the Tianbao era, Minghuang summoned him to paint the walls and screens in the Datong Palace.[6] After he heard the sound of running water at night, Minghuang said to Sixun that he was "a master hand in communication with the gods." If he did not have skill that attained to the Way, which was not drowned by his wealth and rank, then how was he able to capture this remote and untrammeled flavor? His son Zhaodao was also uncommonly good at this at the same time, so people called them "Senior General Li" and "Junior General Li." "Senior" refers to Sixun, "Junior" to Zhaodao. Nowadays, people who paint landscapes in color follow him, yet they are unable to attain his successes. At present, there are seventeen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Four Hoaryheads Dwelling in the Mountains,* two pictures
*Spring Mountains,* one picture

*Fisherman's Joy amid Rivers and Mountains,* three pictures
*Verdant Forests on Clustered Peaks,* three pictures
*Goddess,* one picture
*Amitāyus Buddha,* one picture
*The Four Hoaryheads,* one picture
*Women of the Five Oaks Palace,* one picture[7]
*Treading Brocade,* three pictures[8]
*Minghuang on an Outing in the Imperial Park,* one picture[9]

Li Zhaodao was the son of Sixun.[10] Father and son were equally famous for painting. In official position, Zhaodao reached the post of Secretariat Drafter. People of the time called him "Junior General Li." In wisdom and brushwork, he did not compare to his father, for he was a dandified, talented son of the aristocracy. That he was able not to fall into the lifestyle of fine furs and sleek horses, woodwinds and strings, but instead diverted himself with brush and ink and was considered a superb artist in his day, is this not admirable? When Empress Wu was destroying those descended from the royal family, those of the same surname were afraid they would never be able to have peaceful lives. Thus, Xian, Prince of Yong, wrote "The Song of the Huangtai Melons," as a metaphor for himself, hoping it would move [the empress] and awaken [her compassion], while Zhaodao painted *Picking Melons* as an admonition; but there is no reckoning if this helped.[11] At present, there are six works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Spring Mountains,* one picture
*The Setting Sun,* two pictures
*Picking Melons,* one picture[12]
*Seacoast,* two pictures

Lu Hong, who had the style name Haoran and was originally a man of Fanyang, was a scholar of the mountains and forests, who lived in reclusion on Mount Song's Shao[shi Peak].[13] In the Kaiyuan period, he was called to serve as a Grand Master of Remonstrance, but he firmly refused, so he was granted the clothes of a hermit and a thatched cottage and ordered to return to the mountains. He was very fond of depicting landscapes with level-distance scenes. Had he not had been able to grasp "streams and rocks as his innards and mists and auroras as a chronic complaint" in his mind or respond to them with his hand, he would not have been able to achieve this. His painting *Thatched Cottage* has been handed down alongside Wang Wei's *Wang River.*[14] Since this thatched

cottage had been granted to him, "a single hill and a single stream" were sufficient to maintain his life, so what is seen in his painting is his own inclinations.[15] At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Eroded Rocks,* one picture
*Meeting of Immortals in a Pine Grove,* one picture
*Thatched Cottage,* one picture

Wang Wei, whose style name was Mojie, was selected for the *jinshi* degree early in the Kaiyuan period.[16] In official position, he reached the post of Assistant Director of the Right in the Department of State Affairs, and his biographies are found in the Tang histories.[17] Since the details of his appointments and retirements are all told there, they are omitted here. Wei was good at painting and particularly skilled at landscapes. The painters of his day said his talent was Heaven-sent, and none who studied him could reach him. Later generations praised him highly, saying, "Wei's paintings do not rank lower than Wu Daoyuan's."[18] Seeing his use of imagination in heights and distances, though this was the first time it was seen in "the reds-and-blues," it was a pictorial concept often used in poetry.[19] This tells us that Wei's painting came naturally, so he had no need to be governed by the rules of painting; rather, he was probably born knowing them. Therefore, lines of his poetry can be put into painting, such as: "The falling flowers are silent as the mountain bird cries; the willow trees are verdant, as someone crosses the river"; "I'll walk to the place where the waters end; Or sit and watch times when the clouds rise"; and "Returned to white cloud, my gaze is whole; in azure haze, sight empties nonbeing utterly."[20] His poem "Sending off Second Yuan to Serve in Anxi" was expanded into the picture, *The Song of Yang Pass*.[21] Moreover, scholars of the past who developed skills in one form of art never allowed their art to conceal their integrity. Yan Liben was such a one. When people called for him as a Painting Master, Liben was deeply ashamed. Yet for Wei it was not so. In his own poem, he said, "In this life mistakenly a poet; / In a former life I must have been a painting master."[22] Still, people never did identify him as a painting master. For example, when Du Zimei commented on people in his poetry, this would have been the right time to do it, yet he still praised Wei as "that lofty man Wang, the Assistant Director of the Right," when he knew otherwise.[23] Why? Others who became famous for painting were limited to being good at painting, but Wei, who had youthful skill at composition, was so good that it got him selected for a degree, and his fame flourished in the

Kaiyuan and Tianbao eras, so that many heroes and aristocrats kept the left seat of honor open to welcome him, while the Princes Ning and Xue treated him as a Tutorial Companion. Both he and his younger brother crowned their age with the honors they gained in the examination system and their literary skills. Thus the admiring phrase of that time, "The court has the prose of the Minister of the Left; the whole realm has the poetry of the Assistant Director of the Right," utilized their titles and not their names.[24] Later, at his dwelling on the Wang River, he also put that into painting, and since it expressed what he held in his heart, naturally it was untrammeled. His thoughts were transferred into his paintings, so of course his work surpassed that of all others. The great pity is that due to the perils of war and fire, as well as the passage of several centuries, there are scarcely any of his works left.[25] When men of later times obtain copies, they still surpass the ordinary. This is just like the concept in the comment on Du Zimei's poetry in the *Tang History:* "Even a residue of oil or a lingering fragrance are still enough to benefit later men."[26] How much more so if one could actually obtain works Wei had concentrated on? At present, there are one hundred twenty-six works kept in the palace storehouses:

*The Most High,* two icons
*Mountain Villa,* one picture
*Mountain Dwelling,* one picture
*Covered Plank-Roads,* seven pictures
*Covered Plank-Road of Jian'ge,* three pictures[27]
*Snowy Mountains,* one picture
*Calling for the Ferry,* one picture
*Grain Transport,* one picture
*Snowy Ridge,* four pictures
*Catching Fish,* two pictures
*Ferry in Snow,* three pictures
*Fish Market,* one picture
*Mule Train,* one picture
*A Strange Country,* one picture
*Early Outing,* two pictures
*Village Market,* two pictures
*Traversing the Pass,* one picture
*The Road to Shu,* four pictures
*The Four Hoaryheads,* one picture
*Vimalakīrti,* two pictures
*Eminent Monks,* nine pictures
*Monks Crossing the Water,* three pictures

*Traveling through Mountains and Valleys,* one picture
*Mountain Village,* two pictures
*Appreciating Snowy River Scenery,* two pictures
*Snowy River, with Poetic Intent,* one picture
*Snowy Ridge, Traversing the Pass,* one picture
*Tethered Travelers on a Snowy River,* one picture
*Bidding Farewell in Snow,* one picture
*Mountain Dwelling in Snow,* two pictures
*Waiting for the Ferry in Snow,* three pictures
*Clearing after Snow on Clustered Peaks,* one picture
*Encounter on the River Bank,* two pictures
*Huangmei Emerging from the Mountains,* one picture[28]
*The Layman Impeccable Reputation,* three icons
*Luohans Crossing the Water,* one picture
Copy of *Subhuti,* one icon
Copy of *Meng Haoran,* one portrait
Copy of *Fu Sheng of Ji'nan,* one icon[29]
*Sixteen Luohans,* forty-eight pictures

The hometown of Wang Qia is unknown.[30] He was good at making paintings from splashed ink, so that people of his time all called him Splashed Ink Wang. It was his nature to be fond of wine and free from cares, and he mostly roamed about by himself in the region of rivers and lakes. Whenever he wished to paint a picture, he would wait until he was tipsy and "had taken off his robes and stretched out his legs."[31] Then, as he sang, whistled, and danced about, he would first splatter the ink on the screen. Then he took the shapes that were suggested and made them into mountains, rocks, forests, and streams. It looked completely natural, as instantaneous as Creation. In the clouds and auroras that rolled out and rolled in, and the mists and rain in muted, light washes, no trace of the ink blots could be seen, which is nothing a staff painter could achieve with brush and ink. Song Bai, who enjoyed penning critiques, once inscribed a landscape painting by Qia with a poem. The opening stanza read: "Layered peaks and mountain ranges created with a single splatter. Detailed scenes and lofty inspiration urge each other on." This shows the extraordinary skill of Qia's splashed ink paintings. At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Yan Guang Fishing at the Rapids*[32]
*[Wangzi] Qiao and [Master Red]pine*[33]

The hometown of Xiang Rong is unknown.[34] People of his day called him a Retired Scholar. He was good at painting landscapes and took Wang Mo as his teacher.[35] In his *Pine-Covered Peaks Landscape,* the brushwork was so withered and hard, it lacked mildness and moisture, which is why the painting critics of old derided his work as "cross-grained and astringent."[36] Nevertheless, he stood out from the crowd like a precipitous peak, and so he established his own tradition. At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Pine-Covered Peaks*
*Wintry Pines, Living in Seclusion*[37]

Zhang Xun was a man of Nanhai.[38] After he failed to place in the examinations, he moved to Chang'an, where he took up painting as a pastime. Later he went to Shu. Since he was staying at the Zhaojue Monastery, for the monk Mengxiu he painted murals of three scenes of morning, midday, and evening. He undoubtedly employed the scenery of the mountains of Wu to paint them. When Emperor Xizong graced Shu, he saw them and sighed in appreciation the whole day.[39] Though scenes of morning and evening have been capably executed by modern and ancient painters, a midday scene is difficult to depict. This is similar to how so many poems about spring, autumn, and winter have been written by poets, while those about summer are few. Afterward, Wang, the pretender of Shu, wanted to remove them to his dwelling, but because they were joined to the roof beams, to have moved the murals would have ruined them, so he desisted. Xun's *Snowy Peaks and Dangerous Plank-Roads* is extremely skillful and expresses what he saw in Shu. It also illustrates the age-old admonition: "As if you were approaching an abyss, as if you were treading on thin ice."[40] At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Snowy Peaks and Dangerous Plank-Roads,* two pictures

Bi Hong's hometown is unknown.[41] Being highly skilled at landscape, he produced *Pines and Rocks* murals for the Chancellery, and at that time, literary men wrote poems praising them. His brushwork was free and easy, transforming all earlier methods. It was never constrained or sluggish, but had tremendous vitality. Painters used to have a saying, that when painting pines, [the branches] should be like the arms of yakṣas and [the needles] like the bills of storks or magpies, while [the trunks] should have deep hollows and slight bumps, so they could be taken for rocks. Yet

Hong transformed all of this and put the conception before the brushwork, which is nothing that rules and regulations can produce. In the Dali era, Hong held the post of Vice Governor of the capital. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Pines and Rocks*

Zhang Zao 璪 (also written Zao 藻), whose style name was Wentong, was a man of Wujun.[42] As an official, he reached the post of Acting Vice Director of the Bureau of Sacrifices. He was famous in his day for his abilities as an official and for his literary skill and character. He was good at painting pines, rocks, and landscapes. He composed an essay called "The Realm of Painting," in which he told the essential secrets of painting. [Senior] Mentor [of the Heir Apparent] Bi Hong had garnered all fame to himself in his day, but as soon as he had seen [Zao's work], he was astonished and marveled at it. Once, Zao took a brush in each hand and with one drew a living branch and with the other a decaying trunk. All the changes of the four seasons, he could capture with his brush. In his landscapes, everything was unusually beautiful, and in just a small space were great depths and expanses. In his day they were designated "inspired class."[43] Li Yue, the Vice Director of the Ministry of War in the Tang dynasty, loved painting to the point of obsession. Hearing about a family that had collected a screen by Zao of *Pines and Rocks,* he inquired into purchasing it, but the wife of this family had already dyed it and made it into clothes.[44] Instances where rare treasures encounter misfortune in this world are hardly limited to this. Sun He wrote a poem celebrating Wuxing, and in the last stanza, he said, "Who is as skilled at pines and rocks as Zhang Zao? I believe I'll tear off some mermaid-spun silk for him to paint me a picture."[45] This shows how Zao's paintings were admired then. At present, there are six works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Pines and Rocks,* two pictures
*Wintry Forests,* two pictures
*The Most High,* one icon
*Pines, Bamboo, and Eminent Monks,* one picture

Jing Hao was a man of Henei, who was self-styled as Master of Broad Valley.[46] A man of wide learning and refinement, he loved antiquity. He established his own style of landscape, to which he had given a great deal of thought. He once said, "Wu Daoyuan had brush but lacked ink, while Xiang Rong had ink but lacked brush." Hao joined the strengths of these

two masters into his own art. Generally, those who have brush but not ink lay down their lines like grids that lack a natural feel, while those who have ink but not brush eliminate the "hatchet and chisel marks,"which results in deformities. It was for this reason that in Wang Qia's painting, he first splattered the ink onto the white silk, and then constructed shapes out of the natural formations of high and low that resulted. Now Hao brought together these two, the manmade and the natural, for he had grasped both.[47] Thus his paintings are pleasing to everyone's eyes, and they are easy for viewers to understand. At that time, Guan Tong was called a capable painter, yet he became a disciple and learned from Hao. Hao's ability was highly valued by those of his day. Later he wrote a one-volume book, *Secrets of Landscape,* which was presented to the throne and preserved in the Imperial Archives.[48] Mei Yaochen once wrote a poem after seeing a *Landscape* by Hao, in which is this phrase: "If a painting bears Jing Hao's signature, return it to the Hanlin Academy." He also wrote, "Fan Kuan all his life could never learn it, while Li Cheng was only skilled at his level distances." This shows that Hao's study of painting was not at all common, and Yaochen's criticism was not excessive. At present, there are twenty-two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Summer Mountains,* four pictures
*Mountains of Shu,* one picture
*Landscape,* one picture
*Waterfall,* one picture
*Buildings and Lookouts in Autumn Mountains,* two pictures
*Auspicious Vapors over Autumn Mountains,* two pictures
*Fishermen in Autumn,* three pictures
*Drinking Party at the Orchid Pavilion in Shanyin,* three pictures
*The Five Pavilions on White Duckweed Isle,* one picture[49]
Copy of *King Xiang of Chu Encountering the Goddess,* four pictures

Guan Tong 仝 (or named Tong 穜) was a man of Chang'an.[50] As a landscape painter, in his early years, he studied with Jing Hao, while in his later years, his brush strength surpassed Hao's considerably. He was especially fond of doing autumn mountains and wintry forests, in which his village dwellings and country ferries, hermits and recluses, fishing markets and mountain post-stations gave viewers a faraway feeling, as though they were [saying farewell] at Ba Bridge in the wind and snow, or hearing the apes [cry] in the Three Gorges, not as though they were contending [for fame or position] in the dusty, vulgar world.[51] In Tong's paintings, he had eliminated all evidence of brush and paper, so as his

brushwork got simpler, the more robustly his personality was expressed, and as his scenes grew fewer, his conceptions got stronger. He created an utterly antique, tranquil [mood], like [Tao] Yuanming in poetry or Heruo [Yi] in *qin* music, which is nothing a craftsman-painter of no ability could comprehend. His contemporary Guo Zhongshu was also one of the immortals, and because of what he learned from Tong, his brushwork did not fall into modern bad practices. Tong did not excel at figures, so to put figures into his mountains, he often asked Hu Yi to do them. Since Tong's villages and bridges are bustling, Yi should be credited with these enduring works. At present, there are ninety-four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Autumn Mountains,* twenty-two pictures
*Misty Mountain Groves on an Autumn Evening,* two pictures
*Fishing Skiffs amid Rivers and Mountains,* two pictures
*Traveling by Boat amid Rivers and Mountains,* two pictures
*Solitary Temple in Spring Mountains,* one picture
*Frost Clearing in Autumn Mountains,* four pictures
*Old Trees at the Mountain Pass,* one picture
*Buildings and Lookouts in Autumn Mountains,* four pictures
*Maple Trees in Autumn Mountains,* one picture
*Fisherman's Joy in Autumn Mountains,* four pictures
*Early Outing on an Autumn River,* two pictures
*Autumn Peaks, Lofty and Luxuriant,* two pictures
*Clustered Peaks in Autumn Colors,* three pictures
*Lofty Temple amid Strange Peaks,* two pictures
*Singing Songs in a Mountain Hostel,* one picture
*An Outing at Shanyin,* one picture[52]
*Waiting for the Moon over Mount Yanzi,* one picture[53]
*Living Free and Easy amid Groves and Marshes,* one picture
*Carefree Living in the Deep Mountain Bends,* one picture
*[Birds and Beasts] Calling amid Mists and Auroras,* one picture
*Drunken Chanting at the Bend in the Cliff,* one picture
*Strategic Pass Enveloped in Mist,* four pictures
*Eroded Rocks, Level Distance,* one picture
*Maple Trees, Precipitous Cliff,* one picture
*Stone Cliff, Ancient Pines,* one picture
*Pine Trees and Lofty Scholars,* one picture
*Old Stories in a Landscape,* one picture
*Summer Rain Beginning to Clear,* two pictures
*Gathering at the Orchid Pavilion in Shanyin,* four pictures
*Mountains of the Immortals,* four pictures

*Mountain Pass,* one picture
*Streams and Mountains,* one picture
*High Mountains,* one picture[54]
*Landscape,* one picture
*Hill Town,* one picture
*Large Peaks,* one picture
*Strange Peaks,* one picture
*Clearing Peaks,* one picture
*Han[gu] Pass,* one picture
*Dangerous Plank-Roads,* one picture
*Cloudy Mountains,* one picture
*Rocky Rapids,* one picture
*Level Bridge,* one picture
*Junji Peak,* three pictures[55]

Du Kai 楷 (also written Kai 揩), was a man of Chengdu.[56] He was exceptionally skilled at landscapes. In his depictions of decaying trees, broken cliffs, cloudy mountains, and misty peaks, his imagination was far-reaching. Further, the paintings he made that depicted lines of poetry by the men of old allow one to visualize his thoughts. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Verdant Screen [Mountains] on the Jinsha [River]*[57]

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1. These are the first three of Xie He's "Six Elements." See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 1:4.

2. From the biography of the recluse Tian Youyan, in Ouyang and Song, *Xin Tang shu,* 196.5599. "Streams and rocks" is a synecdoche for landscape scenery, and the whole phrase is usually understood as having an obsession with landscape.

3. For Shang (act. before 1026), see ZGMSJRMCD, 792; Soper, *Experiences,* 59; Han Zhuo, *Shanshui Chunquan ji,* in *Songren hualun,* 10.97; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 61. Liu Daochun said Shang studied the landscapes of Guan Tong, but his brushwork was not as good. See also Qian Yi (968/976–1026), *Nanbu xinshu,* in *Quan Song biji,* series 1, 10 v. (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2003), 4.129. Qian said "recently" Shang Xun was an Office Manager in the Music Office, and as a painter, his landscapes were not inferior to those of Guan Tong or Li Cheng. According to Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 7195, Office Manager was a rank 6a position found in some eunuch agencies. For Zhou (act. ca. 1086–1097), see ZGMSJRMCD, 492; Deng, *Huaji,* 7.394. For Li (act. early Song), see ZGMSJRMCD, 373.

4. He lived from 651 to 716. See ZGMSJRMCD, 371; Liu, *Jiu Tang shu,* 60.2346; Ouyang and Song, *Xin Tang shu,* 78.3520; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 214; LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 482–483; Soper, *Experiences,* 19, 22, 32, 46. For Li Sixun and

Li Zhaodao, see Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 98–110.

5. According to Zhang Yanyuan's entry on Sixun, these five were: Sixun, Sixun's younger brother Sihui, Sihui's son Linfu, Linfu's younger brother (actually his cousin) Zhaodao, and Linfu's nephew Cou. See LDMHJQY, 482; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:242.

6. The anecdote is anachronistic, since Li Sixun died in 716. This information and the subsequent anecdote are quoted from Zhu Jingxuan; see Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:243.

7. Reading *zuo* 柞 "oak" for *zuo* 祚 "blessing." Five Oaks Palace was a detached palace in modern Zhouzhi County, Shaanxi Province. See Ban, *Han shu,* 6.211.

8. Possibly an image of a female dancer on a figured carpet. The Yuan edition has "thirty pictures," Yue Ren's version has "one picture," and Yu Jianhua's version has "three pictures." In order for the total to reach seventeen, as stated, three must be the correct number.

9. This subject would appear to be anachronistic.

10. He lived from around 675 to 741. See ZGMSJRMCD, 372; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 214, 217; LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 484; Soper, *Experiences,* 22, 32. For Li Sixun and Li Zhaodao, see Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 98–110.

11. Using the imagery of the *Book of Songs,* where melons represent abundant offspring, in this song, Prince Zhanghuai used the metaphor of picking the melon patch bare to represent the ultimate effect of the empress's successive murders of members of the royal family. Since he was eventually exiled, to die in faraway Guizhou, it would appear his song did not move her heart. The story of the "Huangtai Melons Song" is told in Liu, *Jiu Tang shu,* 116.3385.

12. Su Shi reported that Li Sixun had done a picture called *Minghuang Picking Melons,* which he described in such a way that it appears to match the picture in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, now called *Minghuang's Journey to Shu,* which is attributed to Li Zhaodao, but is more likely later. See Su Shi, *Su Shi wen ji,* ed. Kong Fanli (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 70.2210. See also Li Lin-ts'an, "A Study of the Masterpiece 'T'ang Ming-huang's Journey to Shu,'" *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961):315–321.

13. Also called Lu Hongyi 盧鴻一, he died around 740. Fanyang is modern Zhuo County, Hebei. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1408; LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 498–499; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:257–258; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 117–128; biographies in Ouyang and Song, *Xin Tang shu,* 196.5603 and Liu et al., *Jiu Tang shu,* 192.5119–5120.

14. This pair of pictures was admired and copied by the circle of Li Gonglin and Su Shi. See Harrist, *Painting and Private Life,* 78–82.

15. Xie Kun said he could live in seclusion on "a single hill or a single stream." From Liu, *Shishuo xinyu,* ch. 21; see Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü,* 395.

16. His dates are given as 699–759 or 701–761. See ZGMSJRMCD, 122; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 246–278; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 218–219; LDMHJ ch. 10; LDMHJQY, 510–512; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:265–268; Soper, *Experiences,* 42, 79, 80.

17. Liu et al., *Jiu Tang shu,* 190 *xia.*5051–5053; Ouyang and Song, *Xin Tang shu,* 202.5764–5766.

18. This is a Song-dynasty attitude, as expressed by Su Shi in his note comparing Wang Wei and Wu Daozi. See Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 255. By contrast, Zhu Jingxuan, in the late Tang, seems to say that Wang Wei worked in the style of Wu Daozi. See Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 218.

19. As in the first lines of his "Look Down from the High Terrace: Seeing Off Reminder Li": "I say goodbye, looking down from this high terrace/Where stream and plain stretch in endless distances." Translation from Stephen Owen, *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 39.

20. The first couplet is from "Written on the Si River at Cold Food Festival Time"; the second is from "Villa on Zhongnan Mountain," translation from Owen, *Great Age of Chinese Poetry,* 34–35; the last is from "Zhongnan Mountains," translation from David Hinton, *The Selected Poems of Wang Wei* (New York: New Directions Books, 2006), 33.

21. See the discussion of the *Yang Pass* painting in the entry on Li Gonglin in chapter 7. For a translation of the poem, see Hinton, *Selected Poems of Wang Wei,* 77.

22. From Harrist, *Painting and Private Life,* 74. See also Owen, *The Great Age of Chinese Poetry,* 29. Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:268 has "In my present life I am wrongly called a poet; In a former existence I must have been a painter."

23. From the eighth poem of "Twelve Poems to Dispel Depression." See Owen, *Complete Poems of Du Fu,* vol. 4, 17.47, 373.

24. This comes from Zhu Jingxuan. See Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 218.

25. A curious statement, since one hundred twenty-six paintings follow, but perhaps the authors are simply echoing Guo Ruoxu's description of Wang Wei's works as "long gone." See Soper, *Experiences,* 42.

26. Ouyang and Song, *Xin Tang shu,* 201.5738.

27. The Jian'ge plank-road ran through the Jian'ge region of Sichuan.

28. Hongren (601–674), the Fifth Chan Patriarch, lived in the Huangmei Mountains.

29. This may be the painting now held in the Osaka Municipal Museum of Fine Arts, which has this title written on it in Huizong's hand and one impression of the seal reading, "Palace Repository of Proclaiming Harmony" (Xuanhe zhongbi). The subject is Fu Sheng teaching the *Book of Documents* to Chao Cuo, the emperor's envoy, in the early Han dynasty, but only the image of Fu Sheng remains. See Stephen Little, *Chinese Paintings from Japanese Collections* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2014), 50–53.

30. See ZGMSJRMCD, 90; LDMHJ, ch. 10; LDMHJQY, 552, under Ink Wang; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 228, under "Ink Wang."

31. From the story in *Zhuangzi* about the court painter who thus prepared himself to paint and was adjudged "a true artist." See "Tian Zifang" chapter, Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 228.

32. Yan Guang (d. 41) was an early Eastern Han dynasty scholar, who lived in reclusion and resisted Emperor Guangwu's call to serve. The spot where he fished was later called "Yan's Rapids." See Fan, *Hou Han shu,* 83.2763–2764. A shrine to him, marking his fishing platform, is in modern Tonglu County, Zhejiang, on the Fuchun River. He was said to have been buried in the Fuchun Mountains.

33. Following Yue Ren's suggested reading as the names of two immortals often mentioned together as practitioners of longevity techniques. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 217n13. See also Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth,* 185, Kaltenmark, trans., *Le Lie-sien Tchouan,* 35, and the biography of Li Si in Sima, *Shiji,* 87.2550, where it is said a ruler "must have the longevity of [Wangzi] Qiao and [Red] Pine and the wisdom of Kong and Mo."

34. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1123; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 228; LDMHJ, ch. 10; LDMHJQY, 550, 551n4, and 552; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:298 and 299.

35. This is Wang Qia; see the entry above. Note that LDMHJ, ch. 10, says Xiang was the teacher of Wang. Yu Jianhua considers this a mistake by the authors of the *Catalogue*. See Yu, *Xuanhe huapu,* 173.

36. Zhang Yanyuan said this in LDMHJ, ch. 10; here using the translation in Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:298. Soper translates the criticism as "blunt and rough." See Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 228. See Soper, *Experiences,* 137n261, where he shows how there was little interest in Xiang Rong until Jing Hao paired him with Wu Daozi in his *Bifaji,* although he did call his brushwork "hard and coarse." See Kiyohiko Munakata, *Ching Hao's Pi-fa-chi: A Note on the Art of Brush, Artibus Asiae Supplementum* 31 (Ascona: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1974), 15.

37. The second half of the title given here is literally "to rinse one's mouth (with the beauty of) rocks," which is a metaphor for living in seclusion.

38. See ZGMSJRMCD, 863; Soper, *Experiences,* 24–25; Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 199–200.

39. He was driven from Chang'an by the rebellion of Huang Chao (835–884) in 881.

40. Quotation from the poem "Foreboding" (*Xiaomin*), from the Minor Odes (*Xiaoya*) of the *Shijing*. See Waley, trans., *Book of Songs,* 175.

41. See ZGMSJRMCD, 916; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 344–346. Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 219, 226; LDMHJ, ch. 3, sec. 4: Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 1:258, 260; LDMHJ, ch. 10; LDMHJQY, 525–526 and 531–533; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:268, 278–279, 283, 288; Soper, *Experiences,* 81.

42. See ZGMSJRMCD, 882; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 337–343; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 216; LDMHJ, ch. 10; LDMHJQY, 529–531; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:283–285, 286, 287, 290; Soper, *Experiences,* 5, 32, 78, 81.

43. This is the judgment of Zhu Jingxuan in TCMHL.

44. Li Yue lived from 751 to 810. See LDMHJ, ch. 10; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:283; Soper, *Experiences,* 81–82.

45. Sun (961–1004) was an official who was skilled at poetry and prose from a very young age. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 306.10097–10100.

46. Henei was probably modern Qinyang, Henan Province. Broad Valley was the name of his place of seclusion in the Taihang Mountains. Liu, *Wudai minghua buyi,* says his residence was in Qinshui, which is about 100 kilometers to the northwest, in Shanxi Province. Both are in the Taihang Mountains area. See the Jing Hao (ca. 855–915) entry from *Wudai minghua buyi* translated in Munakata, *Ching Hao's Pi-fa-chi,* 50; Liu, *Wudai minghua buyi,* 108. See also ZGMSJRMCD, 754; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 67–73; Soper, *Experiences,* 6, 19, 21, 26, 30, 57, 113n25, 136n260; Richard M. Barnhart, "Ching Hao," in Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies,* 2:24–27.

47. I interpret this statement in light of the paraphrase of it given by Han Zhuo, in his *Shanshui Chunquan ji* (preface dated 1121), where he says the two modes combined by Jing Hao were "man and nature." See *Shanshui Chunquan ji,* in *Songren hualun,* 88. For reasons unknown, this paragraph was not translated in Robert J. Maeda, *Two Twelfth Century Texts on Chinese Painting, Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies* 8 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1970), 40.

48. THJWZ called it "Secrets of Landscape Painting" (*Hua shanshui jue*) (Soper, *Experiences,* 6), while it is now called *Bi fa ji,* or "A Note on the Art of the Brush." According to Liu Daochun, this happened during his lifetime, in the late Tang dynasty or Five Dynasties period. See Liu, *Wudai minghua buyi,* 108.

49. White Duckweed Isle was in the Zha River, near Wuzing, Huzhou, Zhejiang Province. Extensive gardens and the five pavilions were built by Governor Yang

Hangong in 838, as described by Bai Juyi in his "Record of the Five Pavilions of White Duckweed Isle" (Bai Pingzhou wu ting ji).

50. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1513; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 74–79; Soper, *Experiences,* 29–30, 141–142n305; Liu, *Wudai minghua buyi,* 108; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 60; Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue," 25; Richard M. Barnhart, "Kuan T'ung," in Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies,* 2:61–64.

51. Ba Bridge, east of Chang'an, was a common place for bidding sad farewell to friends leaving on a long journey. The three gorges are Qutang Gorge, Wu Gorge, and Xiling Gorge on the Yangzi River as it passes through Sichuan and Hubei provinces. The sound of the cries of apes echoing off the stone walls of these gorges was considered very melancholy.

52. This may be a landscape involving images of Xu Xun (act. ca. 358), Wang Xizhi, Xie An, and Zhidun (314–366), who were said to have roamed the Shanyin area. See Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record,* 95.

53. The mythical mountain spoken of in the poem "Lisao," in *Chuci,* as a mountain in the west into which the sun disappears.

54. Title could also be Mount Chong, in Hunan Province.

55. Junji Peak is one of the peaks of the sacred Mount Song.

56. Yu Jianhua treats this Du Kai as identical with Du Cuo 措, who appears in Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 180, as a painter of Buddhist murals. See ZGMSJRMCD, 339. THJWZ places Du Kai in the Five Dynasties period, as a landscape painter. See Soper, *Experiences,* 32, 146n338. This entry is a paraphrase of THJWZ.

57. The Verdant Screen (Cuiping) Mountains overlook the Jinsha River near modern Yibin, Sichuan Province.

# Chapter Eleven

## Landscape, Two

Song Dynasty

Dong Yuan, Li Cheng, Fan Kuan, Xu Daoning, Chen Yongzhi, Zhai Yuanshen, Gao Keming, Guo Xi, Sun Keyuan, Zhao Gan, Qu Ding, Lu Jin, Wang Shiyuan, Yan Su

Dong Yuan (also written Yuan 源) was a man of Jiangnan.[1] He was good at painting, and he mostly did mountains, rocks, water, and dragons. With dragons, even though there is no way to investigate whether they are painted realistically or not, people can imagine how they look as they ascend and descend, emerge from hibernation and leave their grottoes, sport with pearls and call to the moon, and the changes in their appearance between happy and angry. What the average person does not understand is that these are imaginary conceptions, and they come from an imaginary realm that cannot be investigated. On the whole, the landscapes painted by Yuan are bold and vigorous, containing dynamic forms of high and precipitous peaks. His layered mountain ranges and sheer cliffs impart to viewers a feeling of their robust strength. His dragons were also like this. He also did [pictures of] Master Zhong Kui, in which his imagination was very evident. Still, among painters, he is praised only for his landscapes in color, referring to his splendid scenery, much in the manner of Li Sixun. Now, looking into what Yuan painted, it is so. At that time, landscapes in color were not many, and there were few who could imitate Sixun, so it was for this particular reason he gained

fame in his day. As for what came forth from his mind—his depictions of landscapes of rivers and lakes, river valleys in wind and rain, mountain peaks in shade and sunlight, and groves in heavy mists and clouds, as well as his thousand peaks and myriad ravines, or layered banks and broken cliffs—these allowed viewers to grasp the scene as if they were seeing the place with their own eyes. Moreover, [his pictures] can help poets in working out their thoughts, since they contain what cannot be depicted [in words]. At present, there are seventy-eight works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Summer Mountains,* two pictures
*Lofty Hermits amid Rivers and Mountains,* two pictures
*Spring Mountains, in Color,* two pictures
*Clearing after Snow on Clustered Peaks,* one picture
*Eroded Rocks in Summer,* two pictures
*Summer Mountains, Herding Oxen,* one picture
*Forested Peaks,* three pictures
*Early Outing in Summer Mountains,* two pictures
*Autumn Mountains,* one picture
*Fishing Skiffs amid Rivers and Mountains,* one picture
*Fishing Boats amid Foothills,* one picture
*Pulling the Oars amid Rivers and Mountains,* one picture
*Myriad Trees on Strangely-shaped Peaks,* one picture
*Mountains, in Color,* two pictures
*Figures and Eroded Rocks,* one picture
*Ink-Wash Bamboo and Birds,* three pictures
*Clearing Peaks,* one picture
*Mountain Dwelling,* three pictures
*Stepping Stones in a Mountain Brook,* one picture
*Pine-Covered Peaks,* three pictures
*The Perfected One Changshou,* one icon[2]
*Sketch of the Perfected One Sun,* one icon[3]
*Evening Scene on a River Embankment,* one picture
*Winding Streams in Mist,* one picture
*Clearing Winter Skies over Distant Peaks,* two pictures
*Waiting for the Ferry on a Snowy Riverbank,* two pictures
*Fishermen Returning in a Dense Snow,* one picture
*Wintry Forests and Layered Banks,* one picture
*Zhong Kui in a Wintry Forest,* two pictures
*Zhong Kui on a Snowy Shore,* two pictures
*Wintry River and Eroded Rocks,* one picture
*Wintry Forests,* one picture

*Pines and Catalpas, Level Distance,* one picture
*Dragons Calling amid Water and Rocks,* one picture
*Dragons Emerging from Hibernation in Wind and Rain,* two pictures[4]
*Dragons Emerging from a Grotto,* one picture
*Sporting Dragons,* two pictures
*Ascending Dragons,* one picture
*Leaping Dragons,* one picture
*Leaping Oxen,* one picture
*Leading Oxen to Water,* one picture
*Master Zhong Kui,* one
*Luohans in Caves,* one icon
*Herding Oxen,* one picture
*Xiaoxiang,* one picture[5]
*Fishing Boats,* one picture
*Fishermen,* one picture
*Seacoast,* one picture
*Picking Caltrops,* two pictures
*Geese Sheltering on a Wintry Embankment,* three pictures
*Waiting for the Ferry at a Mountain Pass in Summer,* one picture[6]
*Ink-Wash Nesting Birds, Bamboo, and Rocks,* two pictures
*Confucius Meeting Yu Qiuzi,* two pictures[7]

Li Cheng had the style name Xianxi.[8] His forbears were of the Tang royal house, but during the hardships of the Five Dynasties period, they fled here and there. Since the Beihai area had become a place of refuge, they settled in Yingqiu. His father and grandfather were renowned in their day for the study of the canonical texts and for government service. Though the family fortunes declined, Cheng was still able to make the study of the classics his pursuit. He was good at prose composition, with uncommon refinement and talent; he was open and upright, with a strong will. Since he did not find the right opportunities to exercise his talent, he explored his feelings in poetry written while drinking. He also lodged his inspiration in paintings. Though they had deep subtlety and marvelous skill, he never sought to sell them, simply doing them for his own amusement. All the forms in his paintings—mountain forests, marshes and bogs, level distances, narrow passes and level fields, winding and encircling [hills], bending and turning [mountains], flying torrents, dangerous plank-roads, partially seen bridges, segments of streams, water and rocks, wind and rain, darkness and light, mist and clouds, snow and fog—came forth from his breast and were copied out with his brush. As with the voice of Meng Jiao being expressed in his poetry or the wildness of Topsy-Turvy Zhang in his cursive script, it was only right. For this

reason, his brush work made great strides. Of all those admired as landscapists, Cheng was surely deemed the best of ancient and modern times, so much so that he was not called by his given name, but rather was addressed as Li Yingqiu. Even those painters who enjoyed criticizing others praised him respectfully. Once a prominent man named Sun who knew of Cheng's reputation for painting sent him a letter of invitation.[9] When Cheng received the letter, he was at once indignant and sad, and he said, "Since antiquity the four classes have not mixed. I was originally a Confucian scholar, and although I have communicated through the arts, it was only to suit myself, so why should I be tied up in the guesthouse of a nobleman, where I would 'grind and rub my pigments of red and white' and mingle with the staff painters? This is why Dai Kui smashed his *qin*."[10] He sent back the messenger without accepting. Sun was angry with him, so he secretly used a good deal of money to bribe friends in official positions in Yingqiu, hoping to obtain some of his works by this deceptive method. Not long afterward, it resulted in several pictures being sent to him. Later, Cheng complied with the regional Commissioner of Accounts and went to the Ministry of Rites to demonstrate his skills in competition, and Sun respectfully sent him lavish gifts and invited him once more. No sooner had he arrived at Sun's house than he saw his paintings hanging in the guest quarters. Flushed with anger, Cheng brushed [the dust] off his robe and departed. Afterward, though nobles and relatives of the imperial family never ceased sending him letters containing money and requests, Cheng never looked at them. In his later years, he loved to roam in the region of rivers and lakes, and he ended his days at an inn in Huaiyang. His son Jue was famous for his knowledge of the classics, and he served as an official in the Academies and Institutes. His grandson You was once an Edict Attendant in the Hall of Heavenly Manifestations.[11] When he served as Governor of the capital, he spent large sums to buy many of Cheng's paintings, which he kept in his collection. As Cheng's fame increased after his death, his paintings became increasingly difficult to obtain. Therefore, those who studied Cheng copied the peaks, streams, and rocks painted by Cheng and even produced engraved pictures with his name on them. These could be confused with the real thing and fool ordinary people, yet the unsuccessful areas in them will always be picked out by connoisseurs. It is commonly held that his fame will never be extinguished and the admiration people feel for him will never end. Some say he had an equal skill in the painting of dragons in water, at which he was extraordinary. Since he excelled at landscapes, however, he was not known for it. At present, there are one hundred fifty-nine works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Layered Peaks, Spring Daybreak,* four pictures
*Misty Mountain Groves, Spring Daybreak,* two pictures
*Summer Mountains,* two pictures
*Clearing over Misty Mountain Groves in Summer,* two pictures
*Summer Clouds Rising from Valleys,* four pictures
*Autumn Mountains,* three pictures
*Angling Quietly in Autumn Mountains,* one picture
*Traveling under Clearing Winter Skies,* two pictures
*Autumn Ranges and Distant Mountains,* two pictures
*Mountains Enveloped in Autumn Mists,* two pictures
*Distant Mountains in Winter,* two pictures
*Waiting for the Ferry in Dense Snow,* two pictures
*Dense Snow on Rivers and Mountains,* three pictures
*Forests and Rocks under Snow,* three pictures
*Clearing after Snow on Clustered Mountains,* three pictures
*Early Outing on Snowy Peaks,* one picture
*Snowy Stream,* two pictures
*Snowy Peaks,* one picture
*Clearing Misty Mountain Groves in Sunlight,* three pictures
*Wintry Forests in Sunlight,* three pictures
*Wintry Forests,* eight pictures
*Solitary Enjoyment in Wintry Forests,* one picture
*Strange Rocks in Wintry Forests,* two pictures
*Large Rocks in Wintry Forests,* four pictures
*Mists Clearing at Evening,* three pictures
*Mists at Daybreak,* seven pictures
*Clearing Mists at Daybreak,* eight pictures
*Mists and Sunlight at Daybreak,* two pictures
*Daybreak Mists and Level Distance,* two pictures
*Paired Peaks at Daybreak,* two pictures
*Broad Embankments and Clearing over Peaks,* two pictures
*Misty Mountain Groves at Daybreak,* one picture
*Clearing Misty Mountain Groves,* two pictures
*Clearing Peaks,* two pictures
*Clearing Skies over Level Distance,* three pictures
*Solitary Temple amid Clearing Peaks,* two pictures
*Clearing Peaks, Dissolving Mists,* two pictures
*Clearing over Rivers and Serried Peaks,* two pictures
*Range of Peaks and Clearing at Daybreak,* three pictures
*Lofty Peaks and Luxuriant Forests,* one picture
*Solitary Temple amid Great Trees,* one picture
*Long Mountains, Level Distance,* two pictures

*Ancient Trees and Distant Peaks,* four pictures
*Fog-Draped Distant Mountains,* three pictures
*Watermill in the Shade of Mountains,* two pictures
*Lofty Mountains,* three pictures
*Level Distance,* one picture
*Paired Peaks,* three pictures
*Buildings and Lookouts at Mid-mountain,* three pictures
*Reading the Stele, Eroded Rocks,* two pictures
*Traveling through Misty Peaks,* two pictures
*Far-Off Rivers and Distant Peaks,* one picture
*Fishing Skiffs in Mist and Waves,* one picture
*Fishermen in Rivers and Mountains,* one picture
*Pavilion on a Stream, with Pines and Rocks,* one picture
*Luxuriant Peaks,* one picture
*Level Distance, Eroded Rocks,* one picture
*Roused from Hibernation,* one picture[12]
*Wintry Forests, Large,* four pictures
*Wintry Forests, Small,* two pictures
*Mountain Valleys, Clearing Misty Mountain Groves,* two pictures
*Riverbank and Clustered Peaks,* three pictures
*Old Brush, Layered Peaks,* two pictures[13]
*Clustered Peaks and Dense Trees,* two pictures
*Early Outing in Spring Mountains,* three pictures
*Spring Clouds Emerging from the Mountains,* two pictures

Fan Kuan (also called Zhongzheng), who had the style name Zhongli, was a man of Huayuan.[14] His manner and appearance had an antique severity, and his behavior was undisciplined and rustic. It was his nature to crave wine, and he was unconventional and unrestrained. He often went between Jing[zhaofu] and Luo[yang]. He enjoyed painting landscapes. He began by studying Li Cheng, but then he had an epiphany, and he declared: "The methods of the men of the past were based on their apprehension of objects, so when I took these men as teachers, this was not as good as taking the objects as my teachers. But when I took objects as my teachers, this was not as good as taking their inner nature as my teacher." Thereupon, he abandoned his old habits and determined to live in the forested recesses of the Zhongnan Mountains and Mount Hua where he observed scenes that are difficult to depict, such as the darks and lights of clouds and mist and the moon made cloudy or clear by the wind. His memories of his spirit's encounters, he conveyed with his brush. Thus his thousand peaks and myriad ravines were as glorious as though "traveling on the Shanyin road," and though it was the height of summer,

they made viewers feel so cold they instantly wanted to put on padded coats. This is why everyone praised Kuan's skill at conveying the spirit of the mountains and that it was appropriate that he be matched with Guan [Tong] and Li [Cheng]. Cai Bian once inscribed a painting of his with these words: "Men of the Guanzhong area call someone with an unhurried nature *kuan* ["magnanimous"].[15] Zhongli did not sign his given name to his paintings, but rather went by this common term; therefore, the landscapes of Fan Kuan circulate in the world." At present, there are fifty-eight works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Four Divinities Searching the Mountains,* one picture[16]
*Spring Mountains,* two pictures
*Spring Mountains, Level Distance,* three pictures
*Spring Mountains, Old Brush,* two pictures
*Summer Mountains,* ten pictures
*Summer Peaks,* three pictures
*Mist and Fog on Summer Mountains,* three pictures
*Autumn Mountains,* four pictures
*Autumn Landscape,* two pictures
*Misty Mountain Groves of Autumn at Daybreak,* two pictures
*Landscape in Winter,* two pictures
*Wintry Forests in Snow,* one picture
*Snowy Mountains,* two pictures
*Snowy Peaks,* two pictures
*Wintry Forests,* twelve pictures
*Solitary Temple in the Shade of Mountains,* two pictures
*Mountains in the Sea,* one picture
*High Mountains,* three pictures
*Preparing the Elixir,* one picture[17]

Xu Daoning was a man of Chang'an.[18] He was good at painting mountains, forests, streams, and rocks. Although he was very skilled, at first, he marketed medicines by a gate in the capital, and from time to time he would pick up a brush and do pictures of "wintry forests" or "level-distances" to gathered onlookers, for by that time he had already earned a reputation. Though his brush method evidently came from Li Cheng, in his later years, he cast off his earlier model, and his brushwork became simple and easy, which increased the personal style [shown in his works]. Zhang Shixun took one look and praised them at length.[19] He gave him a poem in which he said, "Li Cheng has departed this world, and Fan Kuan has died. Now there is only Xu Daoning of Chang'an." At that time, it was

considered an honor. At present, there are one hundred thirty-eight works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Appreciating the Snow from a Thatched Pavilion,* one picture
*Ferry at Daybreak in Spring Mountains,* two pictures
*Dragons Emerging from Hibernation in Spring,* two pictures
*Catching Fish amid Rivers and Mountains,* one picture
*Spring Clouds Emerging from Valleys,* one picture
*Spring Mists in Mountain Forests,* one picture
*The Three Religions at a Rustic Ferry,* one picture[20]
*Summer Mountains,* seven pictures
*Misty Streams in Summer,* one picture
*Startled Oxen in Wind and Rain,* one picture
*Clearing Fog in Autumn Mountains,* two pictures
*Calling for the Ferry on an Autumn River,* one picture
*Autumn Mountains, Poetic Intent,* two pictures
*Evening Ferry in Autumn Mountains,* one picture
*Autumn Mountains,* six pictures
*Leisurely Angling on an Autumn River,* one picture
*Early Outing on an Autumn River,* one picture
*Mist-Laden Groves on Autumn Peaks,* three pictures
*Traveling by Boat in Clearing after Snow,* three pictures
*Monastery on a Snowy Peak,* one picture
*Snow-Covered Clustered Peaks,* three pictures
*Snow-Covered Precipitous Peaks,* three pictures
*Clustered Peaks in a Dense Snow,* three pictures
*Clustered Mountains in a Dense Snow,* three pictures
*Fishing on a Snowy River,* two pictures
*Buildings and Lookouts in Snowy Mountains,* one picture
*Wintry Forests,* thirteen pictures
*Wintry Forests, Large,* three pictures
*Wintry Forests, Small,* five pictures
*Wintry Clouds Bearing Snow,* one picture
*Clearing Peaks in Sunlight,* three pictures
*Clearing Peaks and Fishermen on the River,* one picture
*Clearing Misty Groves on Peaks at Daybreak,* two pictures
*Clearing Peaks at Evening,* three pictures
*Clearing Mountain Peaks,* three pictures
*Clearing Peaks,* three pictures
*Clouds Emerging from Mid-mountain,* three pictures
*Mist-Laden Mid-mountain,* three pictures
*Clearing Peaks, Fishermen Angling,* one picture

*Clustered Peaks and Prominent Mountains,* two pictures
*Clustered Peaks and Twin Streams,* two pictures
*Shady Groves and Distant Hills,* one picture
*Rivers and Mountains under Accumulated Snow,* one picture
*Eroded Rocks and Sporting Dragons,* two pictures
*Early Outing on a Mountain Road,* one picture
*Clearing Mountain Peaks in Frosty Autumn,* one picture
*Returning Geese over Rivers and Mountains,* three pictures
*Outing to View Mount Hua,* one picture
*Hoisting Light Sails at Daybreak,* one picture
*Layered Mountain Peaks and Fishermen on the River,* one picture
*Cloudy Mountains,* one picture
*Trees and Rocks,* two pictures
*Eroded Rocks,* six pictures
*Twin Pines,* two pictures
*Catching Fish,* one picture
*Herding Oxen,* one picture
*Approaching an Abyss,* one picture
*Treading on Thin [Ice],* one picture[21]
*Summer Clouds before Rain,* one picture
*Mountain Outlook, Solitary Temple,* one picture
*Summer Mountains in Wind and Rain,* four pictures
*Streams and Mountains in Wind and Rain,* one picture
*Misty Mountain Groves in Spring, Fog at Daybreak,* one picture
*Traveling in Spring Mountains,* one picture
Copy of Li Cheng's *Summer Peaks and Level Distance,* two pictures

Chen Yongzhi was a man of Yancheng in Yingchuan, but since he lived in Xiaoyao, the people of his day called him Chen of Xiaoyao.[22] He began by serving as a Painter-in-Waiting in the Painting Academy, but then he announced his retirement and went to live in his hometown. He was skilled at painting Daoist and Buddhist subjects, men and horses, and mountains and forests, yet although his works were extremely detailed and exquisitely fine, there were very few passages that were loose and free, and he was fairly strictly confined [by the rules]. No search for something outside the bounds in his works will come up with anything graceful and untrammeled. In the end, he was simply unable to develop from what he had studied. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Autumn Mountains,* one picture

Zhai Yuanshen was a man of Beihai.[23] He was skilled at painting landscapes and had studied Li Cheng, since he and Cheng were from the same prefecture. When Yuanshen was young, he was a musician in the prefecture. One day the prefect held a banquet. As they were performing in the courtyard, suddenly he looked off into the distance and momentarily lost the rhythm of the drumbeat. The other musicians criticized his mistake and denounced him. When the prefect demanded an explanation from him, he explained the reason to him: "It is my nature to be good at painting, so when I was drumming, I suddenly saw clouds floating in the sky that looked like strange peaks and broken cliffs, just made to be the model for a painting. One cannot look at two things at once, which is why I lost the drumbeat." The prefect sighed and released him. How is this different from Jia Dao whacking [the sedan chair] of the governor of the capital while riding his donkey and [gesticulating as he was] chanting poetry?[24] A man of antiquity said, "He keeps his will undivided and concentrates his spirit."[25] Yuanshen came close to this, indeed! Yuanshen's traced copies of Li Cheng's paintings could be confused with genuine ones. In his own works he was usually unable to conceive any ideas beyond those he had from Cheng. Had he been able to continue to develop and substantiate them, would he have had any limits? At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

Copy of Li Cheng's *Clear River, Level Distance,* one picture

Gao Keming, a man of Jiangzhou, was upright, honest, modest, and courteous, never affected.[26] He loved to roam amid beautiful landscapes, seeking out the unusual and visiting the ancient, plumbing the mysterious and searching for the ultimate all day long, forgetting to go home. When his heart was content, he would return, where he would sit in a quiet room, dismissing distracting thoughts and communing with Creation. Then he would lower his brush and "the hills and streams" in his breast would appear before his eyes. In the [Dazhong] Xiangfu period, his artistic skill got him admitted into the Painting Academy. He was tested by painting murals for a side hall of the palace, for which he was promoted to Painter-in-Attendance, granted the post of Recorder in the Directorate for Imperial Manufactories, and awarded the Purple [Robe]. Keming was also good at painting Daoist and Buddhist subjects, men and horses, flowers and birds, demons and gods, and buildings and outlooks in landscapes, all of which he did with consummate skill. People of his day sought him with influence and wealth, but he never responded, yet if any of his friends wanted a picture, he happily gave it to them. Among

painters, it is not easy to find one who cares nothing for money and loves righteousness. At present, there are ten works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Dragons Calling amid Spring Waves,* two pictures
*Flying Waterfalls in Summer Mountains,* two pictures
*Eroded Rocks and a Rustic Ferry,* two pictures
*Eroded Rocks in Misty Mountain Groves,* two pictures
*Village School,* two pictures

Guo Xi was a man of Wenxian, in Heyang.[27] He served as a Scholar of Arts in the Imperial Painting Academy.[28] He was good at landscapes and wintry forests, for which he gained fame in his day. At first, he developed skill in rich profusion, but over a long period, he became increasingly refined and profound. He used Li Cheng's method somewhat, but as he increased his grasp of the subtleties of composition, more came from his own ideas. Expressing his own thoughts, he would wield the brush on the white walls of a hall to make tall pines and great trees, winding streams and broken cliffs, rocky hills and sheer precipices, peaks and ranges rising up, clouds and mists changing and extinguishing, and the myriad movements and forms of dark and fair clouds. A critic said Xi was unique in his day.[29] When he got older, his brushwork became more robust as his years went on. *On Painting Landscape,*[30] which Xi wrote later, discusses the distinctions between far and near, shallow and deep, wind and rain, sunlight and shade, the four seasons, and morning and evening, which is why it contains the statement: "Spring mountains are comely (alternately *yan* 艷, seductive) and dazzling like a smiling face. Summer mountains are deeply colored as if brimming with moisture. Autumn mountains are bright and crisp, as though wearing make-up. Winter mountains are subdued, like someone sleeping."[31] As for elements such as bridges and valley streams, fishing tackle and fishermen's skiffs, or figures and lookout pavilions, each is put into the composition for its own purpose.[32] His teachings are very orderly and could serve as a model for making paintings. The text is too long to record here, but with regard to his statement, "A great mountain is dominating as chief over the assembled hills ... A tall pine stands erect as the mark of all other trees ...," this is hardly particular to painting.[33] Does not [such skill] enter into the Way? Although painting was Xi's chosen profession, he was still able to give his son Si a classical education in order to raise the family's status. He now holds the prestige title of Grand Master for Palace Attendance and manages the tea trade in Chengdu, Lanzhou, Huangzhou, Qinzhou, and

Fengzhou, as well as serving with the Supervisor of Horse Purchases and the Horse Pasturage Supervisor in Shaanxi.[34] Though he has a profound understanding of painting criticism, it was not by his ability in this that he made his name. At present, there are thirty works kept in the palace storehouses:

*[Wang] Ziyou Visiting Dai [Kui],* two pictures[35]
*Strange Rocks, Wintry Forests,* two pictures
*Landscape, Poetic Intent,* two pictures
*Ancient Trees, Distant Mountains,* two pictures
*Curious Rocks and Twin Pines,* two pictures
*Riverbank,* one picture
*Distant Peaks,* one picture
*Clearing over Mountains,* one picture
*Mist and Rain,* one picture
*Cloudy Mountains,* one picture
*Towering Pine,* one picture
*Spring Mountains,* one picture
*Lofty Range,* one picture
*Waterfall,* one picture
*Secluded Valley,* one picture
*Splashing Torrents,* one picture
*Level Distance,* one picture
*Wintry Peaks,* one picture
*Broken Cliffs,* one picture
*Towering Mountains,* one picture
*Ancient Trees,* one picture
*Verdant Peaks,* one picture
*Distant Mountains,* one picture
*Mountain Outlook,* one picture
*Valley Stream,* one picture

The hometown of Sun Keyuan is unknown.[36] He loved to paint the landscapes of the Wu-Yue area. Though his brush force does not have heroic abandon, the personality and manner [of his figures] are lofty and antique. He enjoyed depicting lofty scholars and hermits who dwelled in the mountains or fished in seclusion. If you contemplate the meaning of his painting *Spring Clouds Emerging from the Mountains,* you will understand it shows the thing "without thought."[37] Merely playing with brush and ink and regarding things lightly was not seen in the writings of such as Tao Qian or Hoaryhead Qi.[38] At present, there are twelve works

kept in the palace storehouses:

*Tao Qian Returning Home,* one picture
*The Gallery of Prince Teng,* one picture
*The Four Hoaryheads of Mount Shang,* two pictures
*Fishing and Singing in the Hills,* one picture
*Lofty Recluse,* one picture
*Spring Clouds Emerging from the Mountains,* one picture
*Desolate Landscape,* one picture
*Landscape,* two pictures
*Mountain Outlook,* one picture
*Herding Oxen,* one picture

Zhao Gan was a man of Jiangnan.[39] He was good at painting mountains, forests, streams, and rocks. Since he served as an Apprentice in the Painting Academy of the pretender Li Yu, he painted nothing but the scenery of Jiangnan. He always set his scenes so well with towers and belvederes, boats, water villages, fishermen's markets, and flowers and bamboo that even if the viewer were amidst the cares of urban life, at a glance he could be transported to the river, to feel like gathering up his robe and wading into the water to inquire about getting a boat at the water's edge. At present, there are nine works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Returning from Herding in a Spring Grove,* one picture
*Wind and Rain in Summer Mountains,* four pictures
*Appreciating a Stream on a Summer Day,* one picture
*Fording in Autumn Mists and Fog,* one picture
*Fishermen on the River under Clearing Winter Skies,* one picture
*Traveling on the River in Early Snow,* one picture[40]

Qu Ding was a man of Kaifeng.[41] He was good at painting landscapes. At the court of Emperor Renzong, he served as a Painter-in-Waiting in the Painting Academy. He studied how Yan [Wen]gui created the transformations of the scenery of mountains and forests through the seasons. In the appearance of his mists and auroras rising and dispersing and his water flowing over stones, he used considerable imagination. Though he was never able to attain the utmost skill, he did gradually surpass his cohort. Now he has been selected for this *Catalogue of Paintings* for the time being, simply to allow students to take encouragement from this. At present, there are three works kept in the

palace storehouses:

*Summer Scenes,* three pictures

Lu Jin was a man of Jiangnan.[42] He was good at painting landscape scenery, and his brushwork was untrammeled, without a trace of vulgarity. When he painted pictures of the four seasons, for spring, he did the winding stream at Shanyin;[43] for summer, he did streams and rocks in luxuriant groves; for autumn, he did wind and rain in river valleys; while for winter, he did bridges and country inns under snow. His compositions were embellished so that one could view every detail. In his scenes of catching fish or transporting stone, in his water pavilions and monasteries, all the elements in the composition were detailed and accurate. They could be used to identify traces of this skilled master, but few of his works circulate in the world. At present, there are twenty-two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Lofty Gathering at Shanyin,* one picture
*Monastery in Landscape,* one picture
*Leisurely Game of Chess in a Water Pavilion,* one picture
*Summer Mountains,* four pictures
*Bridges under Snow,* one picture
*Transporting Stone,* one picture
*Mill on the Stream,* one picture
*Wind and Rain on Rivers and Mountains,* three pictures
*Fishermen Scene,* three pictures
*Catching Fish,* two pictures
*Riding a Dragon,* one picture
*Mountains of the Immortals,* two pictures

Wang Shiyuan was the son of Renshou.[44] He reached the post of prefectural judge. His sensibilities and manner were untrammeled and straightforward. He liked to work in "the reds-and-blues" and was able to combine the skills of many masters. His figures were modeled on those of Zhou Fang, his landscapes on those of Guan Tong, and his wooden buildings on those of Guo Zhongshu. In whatever he painted, every stroke had a source, so it was all exquisite. In his landscapes, he often painted towers, pavilions, terraces, gazebos, courtyard buildings, bridges, and pathways, which were rendered as interesting scenes viewed through a window in someone's house. They lacked the atmospheric effects of mists and auroras in deep mountains and great valleys, and critics considered

this a defect. Yet in terms of the expression of his personality, he was loftier than Guan Tong, while his brush force was more mature than that of Shang Xun. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Mountain Pavilion*

The civil official Yan Su had the style name Muzhi.[45] His ancestors were originally men of Ji in Yan, who later moved to the Caonan [Mountains]. His grandfather was buried in Yangzhai, so now he is considered a Yangzhai man. He was praised by officials for his scholarship and career achievements. His thoughts were untrammeled, and he often expressed his mind in his painting. He particularly enjoyed painting landscapes with wintry forests. He could compete with Wang Wei, although he never did works in color.[46] There used to be genuine works by Yan on a screen at the Court of Imperial Sacrifices and [murals in] the Jade Hall.[47] Moreover, he had once lived in the Jingning Ward, and the house where he lived also bore his paintings, but they are all destroyed now. Only the Buddhist monasteries in Sui[zhou], Ying[zhou], and Luo-[yang] still preserve his works. Su had an inventive mind and was very clever, which was not restricted to his skill at painting landscape. He was astonishingly creative in many areas, one example of which is the Lotus Flower Waterclock in Xuzhou.[48] In another instance, someone had finished making a drum but had forgotten to fix the links, so there was no way to nail the scaffolding to the belly of the drum. Su was appealed to for help, so he ordered an ironworker to make a large locking spring to hold it tight. Everyone admired his wisdom. This shows that the skill in his paintings was of the same sort. Wang Anshi was not given to praising people lightly, but he inscribed a painting of the Xiaoxiang landscape by Su with a poem that said,

> Though my lord Yan served in the establishment of the Prince of Yan,
> the Prince of Yan sought a painting but could not get one.
> When petitions to the emperor regarding mistaken death sentences
> properly result in pardons,
> how could one calculate the number of lives saved to this day
> thereby?"[49]

The Prince of Yan was Yuanyan.[50] That he was Yuanyan's subordinate, yet did not yield, showed Su's personal integrity. The practice of submitting memorials to the emperor for examination and approval of

disputed cases throughout the realm began with Su, and the number of lives saved to this day must be hundreds of millions. This is why Anshi went on to say,

> The humane man and righteous official [Su] is buried in the yellow earth,
> so only his paintings remain to make us ashamed of the money in our bags."[51]

Isn't it right to sigh over this? He served as an Auxiliary Academician in the Dragon Diagram Hall and retired from the post of Vice Minister of Rites in the Department of State Affairs. His sons and grandsons were illustrious, and he was granted the posthumous title of Grand Preceptor. He is known throughout the realm simply as Lord Yan. At present, there are thirty-seven works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Fisherman's Song in Spring Hills,* one picture
*Spring Mountains,* four pictures
*River in Summer,* two pictures
*Autumn Mountains, Distant River,* one picture
*Winter Clearing, Fishing Boats,* two pictures
*Clustered Mountains Packed with Snow,* three pictures
*Wintry Forests,* one picture
*Wintry Forests, Large,* two pictures
*Wintry Forests, Small,* two pictures
*Treading on [Thin] Ice,* one picture
*Solitary Temple in a Landscape,* two pictures
*Ancient Cliffs and Distant Mountains,* three pictures
*Women Sending Winter Clothes,* one picture
*View from Mount Oxhead,* one picture[52]
*Oxen Fording a Stream,* one picture
*Twin Pines,* two pictures
*Pines and Rocks,* one picture
Copy of Li Cheng's *Treading on Thin [Ice],* two pictures
*Returning Home on a Snowy River,* four pictures
*Wintry Sparrows,* one picture

1. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1228–1229, where it says he served the second and third rulers of Southern Tang and died in 962. See also Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 25–34; Soper, *Experiences,* 46, 101, 158–159n433. In Yue Ren's view, Jiangnan here means

Jinling under the Southern Tang. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 229n1.

2. This is one of the Eight Immortals of Shu: Fan Changsheng, who was said to have lived as a Daoist recluse in the Qingcheng Mountains in the third century. See Mi, ed., *Tuhua jianwen zhi, Huaji,* 246n17.

3. Probably Sun Simiao (581–682); biographies in Liu, *Jiu Tang shu,* 191.5094–5097; Ouyang and Song, *Xin Tang shu,* 196.5596–5598.

4. Li Chi described a terrifying mural painting of this subject. See Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue of Paintings," 29.

5. Alfreda Murck explains that this landscape title should depict the *xiao* ("clear and deep") Xiang River scenery. See Alfreda Murck, "The 'Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang' and the Northern Song Culture of Exile," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 26 (1996):114.

6. The Yuan edition has *shanshi* 山石, "mountain rocks," instead of *shankou* 山口, "mountain pass." This has been corrected in subsequent editions, probably because "mountain rocks" would not make much sense.

7. Yu Qiu was an official and advisor to King Zhuang of Chu (d. 591 BCE). He and Confucius could not have met, but in a passage in ch. 7 of the moralizing Confucianist work by Han Ying (ca. 150 BCE), called *Hanshi waizhuan,* Confucius holds up Yu Qiuzi as an example of a good official who was able to serve by being in the right place at the right time. See James Robert Hightower, *Han shi wai zhuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), 229.

8. Li lived from 919 to 967. See ZGMSJRMCD, 358–359; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 154–177; Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 431.12820–12821 (biography of Li Jue) and 301.9994 (biography of Li You); Lachman, *Evaluations,* 56–58; Soper, *Experiences,* 19, 22, 43, 46, 95, 159–160n434. For comments by Shen Kuo and Dong You, see Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 112 and 53. See also Waikam Ho, "Li Ch'eng and the Mainstream of Northern Sung Painting," *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chinese Painting* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 1972), 251–283, and Patricia Berger, "Shifting Biographies, Shifting Temporalities," *The Art Bulletin* 89, no. 3 (Sep., 2007):459–463.

9. This Sun seems to be the Sun Sihao, a wealthy businessman and restaurant-owner, who also patronized the artists Gao Yi and Wang Shiyuan. See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 23n48, and Ho, "Li Ch'eng," 271.

10. This ostensible quote appears to have been created from material in the entry on Yan Liben in chapter 1.

11. Jue died around 993; You lived from 990 to 1051. See Vandier-Nicholas, *Le Hua-che de Mi Fou,* 34. According to Wai-kam Ho, "Examination of the history of this institution and the purposes it served under the emperors Zhenzong and Renzong suggests that the story may be discounted." See Ho, "Li Ch'eng," 279.

12. This is probably one of his pictures of dragons, since "Dragons Emerging from Hibernation" in early spring was a common painting subject.

13. Yue Ren explains that "old brush" can mean an experienced, skilled wielding of the brush. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 234n37.

14. He lived from 990 to 1030. Huayuan is modern Yaoxian, Shaanxi. See ZGMSJRMCD, 642; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 263–275; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 58–59; Soper, *Experiences,* 19, 22, 57, 171–172n498; Hsio-yen Shih, "Fan Chung-cheng," in Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies,* 2:33–36; Richard M. Barnhart, "Fan K'uan," in Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies,* 2:36–41.

15. I can find no source for this ostensible statement by Bian (1058–1117), but this

explanation of his name is a commonplace in all other biographies of Fan Kuan.

16. The Four Divinities are probably the Daoist deities Zhenwu, Tianpeng, Tianyou, and Yisheng. See Carmelita Hinton, "The Mountain of Anomie: Transformations of the *Soushan tu* Genre," PhD dissertation (Harvard University, 2000), 106–108.

17. Probably a scene of an alchemist in the mountains, perhaps Ge Hong, preparing the elixir of immortality.

18. Xu lived from around 1001 to around 1066. See ZGMSJRMCD, 942; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 279–288; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 61–62; Soper, *Experiences,* 19, 58–59, 60; T'ung-wen Weng, "Hsü Tao-ning," in *Sung Biographies,* 2:45–47.

19. Zhang (964–1049) was a high official, under emperors Zhenzong and Renzong, who patronized other artists, such as Wu Zongyuan. See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 27n70.

20. Presumably a picture of Laozi, Confucius, and the Buddha, or maybe three adherents of each faith.

21. This title and that of the painting above, *Approaching an Abyss,* form the last words of the poem "Foreboding" (*Xiaomin*), from the Minor Odes (*Xiaoya*) of the *Shijing.* See Waley, trans., *Book of Songs,* 175.

22. See ZGMSJRMCD, 996; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 38–39, 62, 66, 73, 77; Soper, *Experiences,* 53. The latter is the source for this entry. Shen Kua recorded an anecdote about Song Di (ca. 1015–ca.1080) teaching Chen (act. ca. 1023–1032) a painting method (Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 121–122), which is repeated in Deng Chun, *Huaji,* 6.373. This is anachronistic, as Song would have been a child during Chen's period of activity.

23. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1262; Soper, *Experiences,* 19, 58, 173n503; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 63–64.

24. Yu Jianhua notes the man in the sedan chair was Han Yu, and he and Jia (779–843) became friends as a result of this accident. Yu, *Xuanhe huapu,* 189n1.

25. In the "Mastering Life" chapter of *Zhuangzi,* Confucius said this of the focus of a man who had learned how to catch cicadas. See Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 200.

26. See ZGMSJRMCD, 779; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 259–262; Soper, *Experiences,* 19, 59, 60, 94; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 59–60. The latter is the source for this entry.

27. See ZGMSJRMCD, 956; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 338–357; Soper, *Experiences,* 19, 60, 174–175n516; Stanley Murashige, "Rhythm, Order, Change, and Nature in Guo Xi's *Early Spring,*" *Monumenta Serica* 43 (1995):337–364; and Foong, *Efficacious Landscape.*

28. The prior entries in this chapter all refer to the Painting Academy as Tuhuayuan. Here the name of the institution is given as Yuhuayuan, which is not attested as the name of any bureau. I think this is an error for Yushuyuan, the Imperial Academy of Calligraphy, which is what is given in THJWZ. See Mi, ed., *Tuhua jianwen zhi; Huaji,* 148. Ping Foong says, "In his account, Guo Xi described that he was in time summoned by Song Yongchen, the eunuch manager of the Imperial Calligraphy Academy (and the overseer of the Inner Palace Service in charge of the Yuanfeng-period renovations of the imperial city offices). Guo Xi was to join that academy, receiving his first official title, art scholar." See Foong, *Efficacious Landscape,* 87.

29. Guo Ruoxu said, "In this generation he is the single supreme figure." See Soper, *Experiences,* 60.

30. This *On Painting Landscape* (*Shanshui hualun*) is probably an alternative name

for *Shanshui juezuan* (“Compendium of the Secrets of Landscape”), which was published by Guo Xi’s son, Guo Si (*jinshi* 1082, d. after 1123), in 1110. See Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 367. Now called *Shanshui xun* (“Advice on Landscape Painting”), it constitutes the first section of the text *Linquan gaozhi,* which Ronald Egan renders as “Elevated Discourse on Woods and Streams.” See Egan, “Conceptual and Qualitative Terms in Historical Perspective,” in Martin J. Powers and Katherine R. Tsiang, eds., *A Companion to Chinese Art* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2016), 284. *Linquan gaozhi* was presented at court by Guo Si in 1117.

31. Because the authors have pulled these lines out of context, it is not obvious that Guo Xi was writing about the differences in atmospheric effects of mist and haze on mountains of the four seasons, hence the emphasis on the appearance of a face, as though the mists and haze altered the visage of the mountains. From Guo Xi’s *Shanshui xun;* translation adapted from Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 152, and Egan, “Conceptual and Qualitative Terms in Historical Perspective,” 286.

32. Paraphrased from *Shanshui xun.* See Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 152–153.

33. Ibid., 153.

34. In his “Notes on Paintings,” in *Linquan gaozhi,* Guo Si reported that in the spring of 1117, before his audience with Emperor Huizong in the third month, he was granted a post supervising tea and salt for the circuits of Chengdu, Qin-Feng, and Jianguo (the first two were in modern Gansu and Sichuan provinces; the last is unidentified), which differs somewhat from what is stated here. In a later appearance before the emperor, evidently in the same year, he was promoted to serve in the Imperial Archives. See Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 190. These lines sound as though the authors knew Guo Si, but as with the rest of the *Catalogue,* this information probably came from another text, which could have been *Linquan gaozhi,* dated to 1117 by the colophon at the end by Xu Guangning, or even *Shanshui xun,* published in 1110.

35. On impulse, Wang Huizhi (d. 388) traveled all night to visit Dai Kui, but when he reached his gate, the impulse was spent, and he left without seeing his friend. See Mather, *A New Account of Tales of the World,* 389.

36. See ZGMSJRMCD, 679. He is called Sun Kexuan in Mi Fu’s *Huashi.* See Vandier-Nicolas, *Le Houa-che de Mi Fou,* 40.

37. In Tao Qian’s “The Return,” he says, “Clouds emerge from the mountains without thought, and the birds, weary of flying, know it is time to come home.”

38. Qili Ji was one of the Four Hoaryheads of Mount Shang.

39. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1291; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 64–66; Soper, *Experiences,* 69n573; Niu Jian’s *Huaping,* in *Peiwenzhai shuhuapu,* 49.1281; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 65.

40. This is thought to be the painting now in the National Palace Museum, Taipei. See John Hay, “‘Along the River during Winter’s First Snow’: A Tenth-Century Handscroll and Early Chinese Narrative,” *The Burlington Magazine,* 114, no. 830 (May, 1972):294–303.

41. See ZGMSJRMCD, 515; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 276–278; Soper, *Experiences,* 59.

42. See ZGMSJRMCD, 982, where Yu states this artist lived in Song, but the use of Jiangnan as the home place in the *Catalogue* is usually an indication the artist lived during Southern Tang. In Han Zhuo’s *Shanshui Chunquan ji* of 1121, Lu Jin is listed right between Dong Yuan and Zhao Gan, who both served the court of Southern Tang.

See Xiong, Liu, and Jin, trans., *Songren hualun,* 97.

43. Likely a scene of the Spring Purification gathering of 353 at the Orchid Pavilion in Shanyin, where cups of wine were floated down the winding stream to the participants.

44. See the entry on Wang Renshou in chapter 8. For Shiyuan, see ZGMSJRMCD, 57; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 29–31, 60; Soper, *Experiences,* 12, 19, 45, 155–156n421, 156–157n428.

45. Yan Su lived from 961 to 1040. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1402; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 289–297; biography in Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 298.9909–9910; Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue," 23; Vandier-Nicolas, *Le Houa-che de Mi Fou,* 78, 87; Soper, *Experiences,* 42–43.

46. Guo Ruoxu said he surpassed Wang Wei and rivalled Li Cheng. See Soper, *Experiences,* 42–43.

47. For a fuller explanation of these paintings, see Jang, "Realm of the Immortals," 89.

48. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 207.5275, for Yan's book on the subject, *Method of the Lotus Flower Waterclock* (*Lianhua lou fa*). In Yan's biography, it tells how he submitted his idea for the waterclock to the throne and how it proved to be a superior time-keeper. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 298.9910.

49. Wang Anshi, "A Landscape by Vice Minister Yan" (Yan Shilang shanshui), *Wang Linchuan quanji,* 1.2.

50. Zhao Yuanyan (986–1044), the eighth son of Emperor Taizong, was granted the posthumous title of Prince of Yan the year after his death. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 245.8706.

51. This is the final line of "A Landscape by Vice Minister Yan."

52. Possibly the Mount Niutou in Jiangning County, Jiangsu Province. A similar title is recorded by Zhou Mi; see Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record,* 63.

# Chapter Twelve

## Landscape, Three

Song Dynasty

Song Dao, Song Di, Wang Gu, Fan Tan, Huang Qi, Li Gongnian, Li Shiyong, Wang Shen, Tong Guan, Liu Yuan, Liang Kui, Luo Cun, Feng Jin, Juran, Japan

The civil official Song Dao, whose style name was Gongda, was a man of Luoyang.[1] He earned the *jinshi* degree by examination and was made an Assistant in the Palace Library.[2] He was good at painting landscapes—[the ink effects] were plain and light, [the compositions] spare and remote—and they were highly regarded in his day. Yet they were only done to lodge his mind when he felt inspired, and he never sought to sell them, so few of his paintings circulated in the world. His younger brother Di was also a capable painter. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Pines and Bamboo*

The civil official Song Di, whose style name was Fugu, was a man of Luoyang.[3] He was the younger brother of Dao. He earned the *jinshi* degree by examination and was made an Assistant in the Palace Library.[4] By nature he enjoyed painting and loved to do landscapes. Whether he captured the idea by observing things or created ideas by depicting things,

his transports of thought were lofty and marvelous, as when poets and writers ascend heights and compose poems. He was so respected in his day that often people did not use his given name. He was known by his style name, which is why he was called Song Fugu. He also liked to paint pines, with their withered branches and old stumps, some tall, some bent, some solitary, some in pairs, and when there were thousands and myriads of them, they were formidable and awe-inspiring. His reputation far exceeded that of his elder brother, Dao. At present, there are thirty-one works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Clearing over Mountain Peaks, Fishermen's Joy,* two pictures
*Misty Mountain Groves, Fishermen on the River,* one picture
*Skiffs with Light Sails,* one picture
*Ancient Cliffs, Distant Pinnacles,* one picture
*Clustered Peaks, Distant River,* one picture
*Ancient Pines against a Cliff,* two pictures
*Broad River, Distant Mountains,* one picture
*Broad Waves, Distant Pinnacles,* one picture
*Xiaoxiang, Autumn Evening,* one picture
*Landscape, Level Distance,* one picture
*Long River, Cloudy Sky at Evening,* one picture
*Distant Mountains, Pine Cliffs,* two pictures
*Twin Pines, Serried Peaks,* two pictures
*Old Pines against South Mountain,* one picture
*Towering Mountains, Luxuriant Forests,* two pictures
*Distant River, Journeying Boats,* two pictures
*Autumn Mountains,* one picture
*Faraway Mountains,* two pictures
*Distant Mountains,* two pictures
*Snowy Mountains,* one picture
*Eight Views,* one picture[5]
*Myriad Pines,* one picture
*Wintry Forest, Small,* one picture

The civil official Wang Gu, whose style name was Zhengshu, was a man of Yancheng in Yingchuan.[6] He was talented at administration, and beyond his classical studies, he also lodged his inspiration in "the reds-and-blues." He often took the ideas found in ancient and modern poetry and depicted them in paintings. As a result, his compositions were well laid out and entirely untrammeled. When he lived in Yancheng, there was a small gazebo at the south wall of the city that looked out on the Yin River,

with a placard reading "Yin Prospect Gazebo." To the south, [the Yin River] connects with the Huai River at [Xin]cai, while the view to the north encompasses [Mount] Ji and the Ying River. The river in the open country was shining and beautiful, much like the scenery in the districts of the [Yangzi] River. Wu Chuhou once wrote a poem that said:

> As tumultuous warblers sing, willow catkins fly;
> Spring waters lap at sandy banks at dawn.
> When the plums ripen in Jiangnan,
> year after year, the sorrow of parting is sent off toward the horizon.[7]

Gu's frequent trips there helped him a great deal, and he often expressed his skill with the brush. Gu was once Assistant Capital Governor and later was made Chief Minister of the Court of Judicial Review. At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

> *Dawn Glow over Dongting [Lake],* one picture
> *Clearing after Snow, Fishermen on the River,* one picture
> *Feeling Homesick on a Snowy River,* one picture

The civil official Fan Tan, whose style name is Bolü, is a man of Luoyang.[8] He entered the official ranks due to hereditary privilege. He excelled at government administration, and in every position he held, he was celebrated for his discernment.[9] He is good at "the reds-and-blues." In his landscapes, his brushwork follows Guan Tong and Li Cheng. His depictions of flowers and birds are almost always close. Although he has lodged his mind in this for a long time, few know this, since he has never displayed his work to gain notice. In his leisure time in Luoyang, he often "communicates through the art" of painting, and his work is increasingly mature and robust. Contemporary critics of painting say that when students are too constrained by rules, [their work] can become weak or infirm, but since Tan's work is mature and robust, he lacks the flaws of constraint or weakness. He is currently retired from the post of Edict Attendant in the Huiyou Hall, with the prestige title of Gentleman for Discussion.[10] At present, there are six works kept in the palace storehouses:

> *The Most High Crossing the Pass,* one picture
> Copy of Li Cheng's *Buddhist Monastery in Landscape,* four pictures
> Copy of Xu Chongsi's *Apricot Blossoms and Fruit,* one picture

The civil official Huang Qi, whose style name is Sixian, is a man of Jianyang.[11] He gained fame during his time in the National University. In the subjects he studied, his skills were always in the highest ranks, and later he earned the *jinshi* degree by examination. He was chosen for a government post in the capital, and when he rented a home he made sure it was far from the noise of the boulevards. When he returned late in the evening from his government duties, he closed his doors and stayed in. He mostly lodged his inspiration in "the reds-and-blues." Hence, his *Wind and Mists before a Rain* is neither cloudy nor clear, as if in morning mists at the height of summer, and his light mists and obscuring vapors show profound imagination. Viewers might imagine themselves in a land where things are obscure and indistinct, now hidden, now visible, indiscernible. This is rather like how meanings are expressed by poets and writers. Qi served as a Rector and is currently retired from the post of Vice Minister of War, with the prestige title of Grand Master for Closing Court. At present, there are four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Wind and Mists before a Rain,* one picture
*Clearing over the River, Catching Fish,* one picture
*Enjoying One's Self in a Mountain Villa,* one picture
*Clustered Peaks Packed with Snow,* one picture

The hometown of the civil official Li Gongnian is unknown.[12] He was good at painting landscapes. When he wielded his brush to set down his ideas, his style was not inferior to prior generations'. In his pictures depicting the four seasons, he portrayed spring by *Peach Blossom Spring,* summer by *Before a Rain,* autumn by *Rowing Home,* and winter by *Pines in Snow*. His own compositions revealed limitless inventions of landscape in clouds and mists. For scenes depicting morning and evening, he did *Sun Rising over the Long River* and *Evening Glow in a Sparse Grove,* which truly give the impression of things appearing and disappearing in a boundless distance and really accord with what was composed and chanted by poets and writers, such as "Mountains under moonlight reveal pines under snow,"[13] or "The cold sun is slow to come out of the fog."[14] Gongnian once served as a Judicial Commissioner in Jiang-Zhe.[15] At present, there are seventeen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Peach Blossom Stream in Spring Mountains,* one picture
*Summer Stream before a Rain,* one picture
*Rowing Home on an Autumn River,* one picture
*Autumn Frost, Fishermen on the River,* one picture

*Pine Peaks under Accumulated Snow,* one picture
*Wintry Forest before a Rain,* one picture
*Clouds Arising from Serried Peaks,* one picture
*Distant Mists, Level Country,* one picture
*Sun Rising over the Distant River,* one picture
*Evening Glow in a Sparse Grove,* one picture
*Quietly Angling on an Autumn River,* two pictures
*Fishermen Angling in a Landscape,* two pictures
*Ancient Pines against a Cliff,* two pictures
*Autumn Vista over a Long River,* one picture

The civil official Li Shiyong, whose style name was Zhiyao, was a man of Chengdu.[16] He was the grandson of Dalin, an Edict Attendant in the Hall of Heavenly Manifestations, and the son of Zhi, who had the prestige title of Grand Master for Court Service.[17] Each of the three generations from Dalin to Shiyong was famous in his day for his calligraphy. Shiyong studied and devoted himself to the arts of brush and ink. From the beginning, he toiled as an examination candidate, and for his moral conduct and artistic skills, he was repeatedly selected for the local examination, but he never did pass, and so he entered government service on hereditary privilege from his grandfather. In the Chongning era, when the Calligraphy School had just been established, since he was quite famous for his calligraphy, he was the first chosen to be an Instructor at the Calligraphy School.[18] After a paean of praise was submitted, though, he was promoted to Erudite.[19] He liked to write poetry, and sometimes he lodged his mind in "the reds-and-blues," none of which was of common quality. He was particularly skilled at doing ink bamboo, and he could be ranked as equal to Wen Tong.[20] He held the government post of Assistant Director in the Palace Administration and the prestige title of Gentleman for Discussion.[21] At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Clearing at Evening over the Wei River*[22]

The Imperial Son-in-Law Wang Shen, whose style name was Jinqing, was originally a man of Taiyuan, but is now considered a man of Kaifeng.[23] In his youth he loved to study and was very capable at literary composition. He was thoroughly conversant with all the schools of thought, and he looked on official position and noble titles as things to be gained as easily as picking up straw. He once put some of his compositions into his sleeve and went to pay a call on the Hanlin Academician Zheng Xie.[24] Xie sighed

and said to him, “Your compositions utilize such uncommon language that you will surely see future success.” After he became an adult, his reputation burgeoned continually, and his friends were all classical scholars of accomplishment who were revered as teachers at that time. As a result, Emperor Shenzong selected him to marry the Princess Supreme of Qinguo.[25] Shen’s scholarship was broad and comprehensive, and his chess-playing and painting were both brilliant. The scenes he painted were those that poets and writers find hard to put into words: misty rivers and distant valleys, willow streams and fishermen on the river, clearing mists and partially seen brooks, wintry forests and secluded valleys, and blossoming peach trees along streams and villages in reeds. Shen’s paintings were very imaginative, and he nearly attained the unparalleled achievements of the ancients. He was also skilled at calligraphy, and his regular, running, cursive, and clerical scripts were all done with the brush modes used in the seal script found on ritual bronze vessels. Near his home he built a hall called Precious Delineations, where he stored his collection of ancient and modern calligraphy and painting. He often displayed landscapes painted by the ancients on his desks and walls, in order to appreciate their magnificence, saying, “I want to be like Zong Bing, to purify my heart and roam as I recline.”[26] Had Shen not had “these hills and streams” in his breast, would he be able to do this? He loved to write poetry. He once presented a poem to Emperor Shenzong, who appreciated it immediately. As for his losing favor with the honored [Princess of] Qinguo, during her final illness, Emperor Shenzong personally wrote to lay blame on Shen: “Within your own household, you lost your moral integrity as you pursued your desires in excessive dalliances, while in your public life, the libertine behavior that mocked your ruler has made you disloyal.”[27] This shows that Shenzong’s use of people was for the public good, not according to his personal likes and dislikes. Yet Shen was able to petition to make a fresh start, and even when he was in lonely solitude, he was able to entertain himself with books.[28] His manner and bearing was cultivated and refined, truly with the air of the Wangs and Xies. How easy would it be to look back to the past to picture such a person? He held the official posts of Surveillance Commissioner for Dingzhou, with the titles of Dynasty-Founding Duke and Imperial Son-in-Law. He was granted the posthumous title of Zhaohua Army Military Commissioner and the epithet “Glorious and Tranquil.” At present, there are thirty-five works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Returning to a Secluded Valley in Spring,* one picture
*Clearing Misty Groves at Daybreak,* one picture

*Misty Groves Clearing at Daybreak,* three pictures
*Misty River, Layered Peaks,* one picture[29]
*Pines on the Road into the Mountains of the Immortals,* one picture
*Setting Sail on the Ocean,* one picture
*Wind and Rain, Pines and Rocks,* one picture
*Wind and Rain on the Long River,* one picture
*Fishing Village, Nets Drying in the Sun,* one picture
*Willow Stream, Fishermen on the River,* one picture
*The Joy of Fishermen, Landscape,* one picture
*View from a Riverside Pavilion,* one picture
*Light Snow on a Fishing Village,* one picture
*Landscape, Level Distance,* one picture
*Fang Cilü's Prior Incarnation,* one picture[30]
*The Three Worthies of Kuaiji,* one picture[31]
*Mountain Ranges, Partially Seen Streams,* one picture
*Old Pines, Wilderness Cliffs,* one picture
*Flowing Waters, Done in Green-and-Gold,* one picture
*Roaming Famous Mountains while Reclining,* one picture
*Prominent Peaks and Distant Valleys,* two pictures
*A Thousand* Li *of Rivers and Mountains,* one picture
*Screen Mountain, Small Scene,* one picture[32]
Copy of Li Cheng's *Wintry Forest,* two pictures
*[Wang] Ziyou Visiting Dai [Kui],* one picture
*Dwelling in the Mountains,* two pictures
*Pines and Rocks,* two pictures
*Everlasting Spring,* one picture[33]
*Distant View,* one picture

The eunuch official Tong Guan, whose style name is Daofu (also given as Daotong), is a man of the capital.[34] His nature is solemn and taciturn, and he treats his subordinates with generosity and consideration. He is capable of leniency, while displaying neither pleasure nor anger in his expression. Naturally, those who can control troops have discipline. His father, Shi, loved to collect paintings, and well-known painters of the day, such as Yi Yuanji, Guo Xi, Cui Bai, and Cui Que often came to his home to paint whatever he required.[35] As Guan had always attended his father, he adopted their superior points and gained much from their achievements, which he stored up in his mind, and from this he expressed their secrets. Sometimes when he sees the ink and brush at his side, he engages in a bit of brush play, making mountains, forests, streams, and rocks, embellishing as he pleases until the inspiration passes and he stops. He often asks people who took these paintings away to return them so he can

destroy them. Whenever he was moved to wield the brush and ply the ink, whether it was on the back of some discarded paper or on the remnant of a scroll, those around him would quickly store it away and never bring it back out, keeping it as a treasured object. Because there were so few, they were especially valued. In general, his conceptions are untrammeled and his brushwork simple and easy. His ideas are ample and attained naturally, as though they were the product of long study, with no intent to conciliate or please others. From ancient times, military men such as Zhuge Kongming were also capable painters.[36] The topography he created in his "Eight Elements Battle Formations" clearly reveal his painting compositions.[37] When Ma Yuan built up rice into hills and streams, this also had a painterly conception.[38] Isn't it that when their minds are clear on the plan for the painting, those whom we would not expect to be capable of painting actually are? Guan is one of these. Guan made the plan for the victories won in the Huang and Shan areas, and he seized and executed the barbarians who had captured our cities on the western border.[39] Through all advances and retreats, rewards and punishments, from the start he never manifested any trace of movement, so none could guess at his course of action. Guan is singularly capable of generosity and mercy, so people were devoted to him, so much so that he was called "Gain a Foothold, Grant an Amnesty." This means that everywhere he went he extended forgiveness and kindness to all. With regard to his meritorious achievements in service, these are recorded in detail in the official history and thus abbreviated here. Currently Guan holds the positions of Grand Mentor, Military Commissioner of the Shannan East Circuit, Concurrent Controller of the Bureau of Military Affairs, and Pacification Commissioner of the Shaanxi and Hedong Circuits. He is enfeoffed as Duke of Jingguo.[40] At present, there are four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Eroded Rocks,* four

The eunuch official Liu Yuan, whose style name was Boyu, was a man of the capital. Self-controlled and upright, he never suffered any disgrace. People of his day said that in more than fifty years of service, he displayed neither pleasure nor anger in his expression, and he was the faithful supporter of his ruler under two reigns without ever once boasting about himself.[41] It was in the nature of his father Youfang to love calligraphy and painting, and there were ten thousand scrolls in the family collection, with ivory label-slips and jade roller-knobs, all kept in order.[42] There were rare calligraphies and famous paintings from the Wei, Jin, Sui, and Tang

dynasties onward. As a result, [Yuan] was able to examine and investigate issues of authenticity and to discuss distinctions between ancient and modern works.[43] His conclusions on the genealogy and time period of an artist were thorough, so when people of the time discussed calligraphy and painting, they all happily submitted to him. When anyone, in the inner court or the outer court, had an anonymous painting, they invariably asked Yuan for his judgment. Though Yuan would never dare to attribute it, his discussions always contained some evidence. Yuan could wield his brush to do clouds, forests, streams, and rocks, all of it untrammeled. In the past, Huan Tan considered that if one could recite a thousand rhapsodies, one ought to be able to write one.[44] [Yuan's ability] is the same as this. Since he only painted for his own pleasure, not many works circulated, for he was not like a specialist who produces a great quantity of paintings over many years. Recently, Yuan had the posts of Gentleman for Thorough Service and Pacification Commissioner of the Wusheng Army (also given as Qingyuan Army), and was given the posthumous title of Junior Preceptor and epithet of "Loyal and Simple." At present, there are nine works kept in the palace storehouses:

*After Li Cheng's Small Wintry Forest,* one picture
*Autumn Scene, Level Distance,* one picture
*Autumn Clouds before a Rain,* one picture
*Lofty Scholar in a Mountain Scene,* one picture[45]
*Bamboo and Rocks, Small Scene,* one picture
*Small Scene, Ink Bamboo,* two pictures
*Ink Bamboo,* one picture
*Bamboo and Rocks,* one picture

The eunuch official Liang Kui, who has the style name Zhongxu, is a man of the capital. He entered the official ranks due to hereditary privilege. Since his youth he has loved sculpture and painting, and when he was grown, because he had seen so much art, by seeing it all the time he became able to do it, as if he had been practicing all along. Flowers, bamboo, and figures all have forms that can be described and can all be painted. If one were to take famous paintings that had lofty [elegance] and antique [simplicity] and create a painting method in which were combined the best selected from each, hopefully it would be complete. Since Kui has just reached the age of maturity, if he continues to discuss his work and learn established practices, his progress should have no limit. Kui now holds the posts of Left Military Grand Master[46] and Defense Commissioner for Dazhou and serves as an attendant in Sagacious

Contemplation Hall.[47] At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Clearing Mists over Spring Mountains,* one picture
*Fishermen on a Lotus Stream,* one picture

The eunuch official Luo Cun, whose style name is Zhongtong, is a man of Kaifeng. It was his nature to love painting, and he did small pictures. Though he remained in the capital, his imagination roamed extensively through [the regions of] rivers and lakes, unaffected by the grime of official duties at court. He painted misty waves and snowy whitecaps, on which slender boats bob on the edge of the horizon, or riders appearing and disappearing below the slopes and cliffs. Unrolling these pictures is like ascending to a height for the view into the far distance, as though you were going to and fro with the fishes and birds. Since he is young, were he to continue to study diligently, his future would be limitless. Cun holds the posts of Grand Master of Military Virtue and Military Training Commissioner for Wenzhou, and also fills the position of Chief Steward of the Food Service in the Palace Administration. At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Autumn River, Returning Riders,* one picture
*Clearing after Snow, Returning Boats,* one picture

The eunuch official Feng Jin, whose style name is Yuqing, is a man of Kaifeng.[48] From youth he has loved "the reds-and-blues." His landscapes of the four seasons show shadow and sunlight, morning and evening, and forms obscured by mists and clouds. He is most skillful at lookouts in forest groves. His painting, *Myriad Pipings of the Autumn Wind,* is rather like hearing the woodwind sounds coming from the tips of branches. The imagination shown in this picture is profound, almost comparable to "Rhapsody on the Sounds of Autumn."[49] What a pity that Jin's habits of practice are not settled, and there is concern that later he will realize it was a missed opportunity. He currently holds the title of Grand Master of Militant Assistance and the post of Director-in-chief of the Yongtai Imperial Mausoleum.[50] At present, there are thirteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Lingering Rain, Spring Daybreak,* one picture
*Landscape in Early Spring,* one picture
*Fertile Rain, Sudden Clearing,* one picture

*Lookouts in a Warm Breeze,* one picture
*Early Summer, Flowing Currents,* one picture
*Clearing Mists, Distant Scene,* one picture
*Luxuriant Pines on Southern Mountains,* one picture
*Landscape with Evening Mood,* one picture
*Myriad Pipings of the Autumn Wind,* one picture
*Dissipating Frost, Frozen Mist,* one picture
*Frosty Autumn, Fishermen on the River,* one picture
*Landscape in Dense Snow,* one picture
*Clearing after Snow on Clustered Peaks,* one picture

The *śramana* Juran was a man of Zhongling.[51] He was good at painting landscapes, in which he thoroughly attained a delightful charm, for which he became famous in his day. When he painted, it was like literary gentlemen and talented scholars who compose poetry and prose with a flood of words tumbling forth from their brushes. Analogies, metaphors, passages of excitement, and pauses in rhythm—there were none he lacked.[52] Likely it was because what was in his mind was so rich that his works were so unbounded. Juran's landscapes, beyond the peaks and ranges and gorges, descended to wooded foothills, where he set boulders, pines, cypresses, sparse bamboo, vines, and grasses, all helping to bring each other out, while his secluded streams and small paths wind about and his tangles of bamboo fences and thatched cottages, partially seen bridges, and dangerous plank-roads seem as real as actual scenes in the mountains. People sometimes refer to the atmosphere and substance [in his paintings] as soft and weak. Not so! In the past, a critic of landscapes said, "If one can make secluded places habitable, level distances traversable, natural formations surprising, and precipitous, dangerous places terrifying, this is truly to be good at painting."[53] Now although Juran's work was detailed, his ideas were similar to this, yet those who call him "soft and weak" are probably using this very theory to criticize him. In addition, as to "how he does densely falling rain, the viewer feels assailed by the briskness in the air." True, indeed! When men of the past had paintings of water hung on their walls, especially the type called "turbulent breakers," they made viewers' hair stand on end. How much more so when transformations of mists and clouds appear before our eyes, every trace of which has emerged from himself?[54] The praise for him in the *Register of Paintings* is no exaggeration![55] At present, there are one hundred thirty-six works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Mountain Dwelling in Summer,* six pictures

*Mountain Groves in Summer,* one picture
*Summer Clouds before a Rain,* one picture
*Evening Ferry on an Autumn River,* two pictures
*Summer Mountains,* three pictures
*Pine-Covered Peaks in Summer,* three pictures
*Autumn Mountains,* two pictures
*Fishermen on an Autumn River,* four pictures
*Buddhist Retreat amid Streams and Mountains,* six pictures[56]
*Streams and Mountains, Fishermen's Joy,* six pictures
*Streams and Mountains, Forests and Marshes,* two pictures
*Stream, Bridge, Lofty Recluse,* one picture
*Winding Streams and Layered Peaks,* four pictures
*Water Pavilion amid Mountains and Streams,* one picture
*Landscape with Lofty Mood,* two pictures
*Quiet Angling in a Landscape,* one picture
*Landscape at Evening,* one picture
*Catching Fish at a River Village,* one picture
*A Traveler's Inn in a Landscape,* one picture
*Landscape with Evening Mood,* one picture
*Rowing Home in a Landscape,* six pictures
*Spiritual Awakening in the Lower Yangzi Region,* one picture
*Landscape, Level Distance,* one picture
*Traveling by Boat in a Landscape,* two pictures
*Lofty Hermit in Pine-Covered Peaks,* two pictures
*Mist Floating over Distant Hills,* six pictures
*Returning through Mountain Groves,* one picture
*Mountain Groves, Small Painting,* one picture
*Rustic Boats near Groves at Daybreak,* one picture
*Luxuriant Forests, Layered Peaks,* one picture
*Trees on a Bank, Distant Islets,* one picture
*Trees and Rocks, Small Scene,* one picture
*Misty Pass, Small Scene,* one picture
*Clouds across Prominent Peaks,* two pictures
*Clouds and Mists, Clear Daybreak,* three pictures
*Pines along the Road in the Mountains of the Immortals,* one picture
*Solitary Temple in Pine-Covered Mountains,* one picture
*Fair-Weather Clouds in a Winter Sky,* six pictures
*Clustered Peaks Shrouded in Mist,* four pictures
*Fishermen's Dwelling on a Wintry Stream,* one picture
*Wintry Forest, Small,* two pictures
*Distant Mountains, Fishing on the River,* two pictures
*Solitary Temple in Shanyin,* two pictures

*Distant Mountains, Broad Rivers,* three pictures
*The Sound of Pines in Myriad Valleys,* three pictures
*Wind in the Pines in Myriad Valleys,* two pictures[57]
*Clustered Peaks, Luxuriant Groves,* two pictures
*Wankou Mountains,* one picture
*Mountain Dwelling,* one picture
*Pine Cliffs Landscape,* two pictures
*Evening Ferry on a Misty River,* one picture
*Landscape,* four pictures
*Layered Mountains,* one picture
*Prominent Peaks,* three pictures
*Jinshan,* one picture[58]
*Mount Zhongshan,* one picture
*Mount Lu,* one picture
*Pine-Covered Ridges,* two pictures
*Cypress Spring,* one picture
*Far-Away Mountains,* one picture
*Distant Mountains,* one picture
*Pine-Covered Peaks,* three pictures
*Lofty Hermit,* one picture
*Herders Returning,* one picture
*Long River,* one picture
*Eroded Rocks,* one picture

The country of Japan was anciently the Land of Dwarfs [Yamato], but they took [the notion that their land] lies close to where the sun rises as a reason to change [the name].[59] They have painters, but their names are unknown. The small scenes portraying the natural objects and landscapes of their country that circulate are done in heavily applied color, with much use of gold and jade color.[60] Investigation of the real scenes would show they are not so; rather, their intent was to use bright colors to make a brilliant display and to win admiration for their beauty. Yet it is due to them that we can see the people and customs of a foreign country in a distant land. Further, these distant barbarians and wild tribes do not live in our land of ritual and propriety, so it is commendable that they should be able to commit their ideas to painting. Yet what would be the purpose in estimating their skill or awkwardness when the glories of Chinese culture have already been transmitted to other countries? In the past there have been official commissions from Japan that came to China, and they were different from those of other countries, so it is appropriate they have this [kind of painting]. During the Taiping xingguo era, a Japanese monk with five or six followers came here aboard a merchant vessel. They

did not understand Chinese speech, but when questioned about their customs and environment, they answered in writing. They used the clerical script as their standard, and they said they generally take China as their model. Later, he sent his disciples again to deliver a memorial of congratulations and to submit gold-dust ink-stones, deer-hair brushes, and folding screens painted in the Yamato style. At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Scenery of Islands in the Sea,* one picture
*Popular Customs,* two pictures

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1. Song Dao lived from 1013 to 1083. See ZGMSJRMCD, 328; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 320–329; Soper, *Experiences,* 45, 157n429.

2. The text has simply *lang,* which according to Hucker was usually an abbreviation for *langzhong.* See Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 3563. Under *bishulang* (no. 4592), he notes that *bishulang,* an Assistant in the Palace Library, was sometimes abbreviated as *langzhong.*

3. Song Di lived from around 1015 to around 1080. See ZGMSJRMCD, 325; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 320–329; Soper, *Experiences,* 45, 157n429; Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue," 23; Han Zhuo, *Shanshui Chunquan ji,* in *Songren hualun,* 10.97.

4. The text has *langguan,* which is synonymous with *langzhong,* sometimes used an abbreviation for *bishulang,* or Assistant in the Palace Library. See Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* nos. 3573 and 4592.

5. On this subject, see Alfreda Murck, "The 'Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang' and the Northern Song Culture of Exile," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 26 (1996):113–144.

6. See ZGMSJRMCD, 129.

7. Wu earned the *jinshi* degree in 1053 and died sometime after 1089. His biography in *Song shi* is under the category "evil officials," thanks to his connections with Cai Que (1037–1093). See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 471.13701–13702.

8. See ZGMSJRMCD, 639. The biography of his father, Fan Ziqi, says they were a Taiyuan clan; see Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 288.9680–9681. Tan died shortly after his retirement, aged 62 *sui.*

9. A curious statement to make about someone who was cashiered more than once for making Emperor Huizong angry. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 288.9680–9681.

10. The Huiyou Hall was established in 1108 by Emperor Huizong to house the collections of Emperor Zhezong. Edict Attendant was a rank 4b position; Gentleman for Discussion was a rank 7b prestige title in Song. See Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* nos. 6129 and 498.

11. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1161.

12. See ZGMSJRMCD, 347. Unclear if he was living when the *Catalogue* was written.

13. From "For Chamberlain Wang," by Yan Yanzhi (384–456), in Xiao Tong (501–531), ed. *Wen xuan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), ch. 26.

14. From Du Fu's "Setting out Early from Shehong County": "The cold sun is slow to come out of the fog/ the clear river runs swiftly around the mountain." See Owen,

trans., *Poetry of Du Fu,* 3:171.

15. Probably the two circuits of Liangzhe and East and/or West Jiangnan.

16. Wei Liaoweng (1178–1237) stated that Li was already renowned as a young man for his painting and calligraphy, and that his bamboo paintings were close in style to those of Wen Tong. See Wei Liaoweng, *Heshan ji* (Shanghai: Shang wu yin shu guan, 1922), 60.35. Li was an Erudite in the School of Calligraphy in 1108 when he was called upon to copy Emperor Huizong's calligraphy of the "Eight Conducts, Eight Offences" edict so it could be engraved in stone for propagation to the empire. See Patricia Buckley Ebrey, "Huizong's Stone Inscriptions," in *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China: The Politics of Culture and the Culture of Politics,* ed., Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Maggie Bickford (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Asia Center, 2006), 241. It is not clear if he was living at the time the *Catalogue* was written.

17. The biography of Li Dalin (*jinshi,* 1056–1064) is in Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 331.10657–10658.

18. The Calligraphy School was established in 1104.

19. Wei Liaoweng says Li received his post of Erudite following a recommendation by Feng Xie (d. 1140). See Wei, *Heshan ji,* 60.35.

20. Li's younger brother Shimin has an entry in chapter 20, under ink bamboo.

21. Assistant Director in the Palace Administration was a rank 5b post. See Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 6561. He says this type of post was usually a sinecure for imperial family members or palace favorites.

22. This was probably a landscape showing a sea of bamboo, since "Wei River bamboo" was a painting topic, as seen in the entry for Wen Tong in chapter 20.

23. He lived from around 1048 to around 1104. See ZGMSJRMCD, 116; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 423–449; T.W. Weng, "Wang Hsin," in *Sung Biographies* 2:142–147.

24. Zheng Xie (1022–1072) was a famous poet, whom Wang obviously intended to impress with his poems. Zheng's *Yunxi ji* is still extant.

25. The princess (1051–1080) was a daughter of Emperor Yingzong and Empress Gao (1032–1093), who married Wang in 1069. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 248.8779. This was one of her posthumous titles, used for the paternal aunt of an emperor, so either Zhezong or Huizong could have granted it.

26. Zong (375–443) could no longer roam through real mountains because of age and illness, so he viewed landscape paintings instead. A translation of his essay is in Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 36–38. For the Chinese text, see Chen, *Liuchao huajia shiliao,* 146.

27. In 1080, Shen was banished on charges of sexual indiscretion with the household maids during his wife's terminal illness. The princess was Shenzong's beloved sister. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 248.8779. Alfreda Murck's opinion is that this banishment was political; see Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China,* 127. This seems to be shown in the criticism here of Shen's "public life" as "disloyal." Though Shen was on the same list as Su Shi, accused of conspiring against Shenzong's policies, he was not imprisoned.

28. He was said to have devoted himself to landscape painting during his exile, and he was recalled to office in 1085. See Weng, "Wang Hsin," in *Sung Biographies* 2:142–147.

29. Generally believed to be the well-known handscroll in the Shanghai Museum, although Wang probably made many versions of this theme. In Alfreda Murck's view, the likely inspiration for this painting was the line, "At times startled by layered

peaks," from Du Fu's "Autumn Day in Kui Prefecture." See Murck, *Poetry and Painting in Song China,* ch. 6, and Murck's review of Patricia Ebrey, *Accumulating Culture: The Collections of Emperor Huizong, The Journal of Asian Studies* 69, no. 1 (Feb., 2010):211.

30. Fang Cilü was Fang Guan (697–763), a grand councilor under emperors Xuanzong and Suzong of the Tang dynasty. In the story illustrated, Fang Guan and Xing Hepu take a walk in the woods. Xing pounds his staff on the ground, making a large hole, at the bottom of which is a clay jar. In the jar was a letter from a monk. Fang realized that the monk had been a prior existence of his own. The story is recorded in *Taiping guangji,* 148.2b.

31. Unclear who the three are, but there were shrines to He Zhizhang and Li Bai in Shaoxing, formerly Kuaiji.

32. In Yue Ren's view, "screen mountain" should be a screen, so this would be a small scene painted on a screen. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 263n21.

33. Yue Ren identifies this title as the name of one of the temporary palaces of the early Tang period, which was located in modern Dali County, Shaanxi Province. The title "Everlasting Spring" (*Changchun*) is listed in Yang, *Song Zhongxing guange chucang hua ji,* in the category of landscape. See Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 846.

34. The biography of Tong Guan (1054–1126) is in Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 468.13658–13662.

35. Tong Shi was a eunuch official at court and Guan's adoptive father. A brief document authored by Su Shi records his service. See "Tong Shi has special permission to continue as Commander of Honor Guards of the Inner Palace," in *Su Shi wen ji,* 38.1067. Xiaoshan Yang says eunuch officials ordinarily were removed from the Imperial Dispensary when they reached this rank, which may be why Tong Shi had special permission to continue. See Yang, "Ritual Propriety and Political Intrigue in the Xuande Gate Incident," *T'oung Pao* 98 (2012):160.

36. See the entry on Zhuge Liang (181–234) as a painter in LDMHJ, ch. 4; LDMHJQY, 264–265.

37. The formations were apparently piles of rocks, so they constituted a landscape design. In the biography of Huan Wen, it tells that "Zhuge Liang once created the Eight Elements Battle Formations on the level sand at Fish's Return." See Fang, *Jinshu,* 98.2569; translation from Murck, "The 'Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang,'"124.

38. The Han general Ma Yuan mounded up rice to model the topography and show the emperor the road the troops would take. See Fan, *Hou Han shu,* 24.834.

39. Cai Jing made him second in command for the conquest of this Tibetan-held area in 1103–1104, in what is now modern Gansu and Qinghai provinces. See Paul Jakov Smith, "Irredentism as Political Capital: The New Policies and the Annexation of Tibetan Domains in Hehuang (the Qinghai-Gansu Highlands) under Shenzong and his Sons, 1068–1126," in Ebrey and Bickford, eds., *Emperor Huizong and Late Northern Song China,* 113.

40. These were his titles in the years into 1120. They were changed after the Fang La Rebellion began in the tenth month of 1120. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 468.13658.

41. Since he was reinstated in service under Emperor Zhezong in 1093, I assume he also served Emperor Shenzong. His post of Gentleman for Thorough Service was created in 1112, so he died only after that date. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 17.337, 166.3940, and 169.4055.

42. The adoptive father of Liu Yuan, Liu Youfang was a eunuch official who served as Manager of the Imperial Dispensary from sometime before 1067 to his retirement

in 1077. He was the one chosen by the emperor to summon Wang Anshi back from retirement in 1075. See Yang, "Ritual Propriety and Political Intrigue in the Xuande Gate Incident," 161–162. Other sources describe specific items in his collection. Mi Fu said a version of Gu Kaizhi's *Admonitions of the Court Instructress* was in Youfang's family collection. See Mi Fu, *Huashi,* 111, and Paul Pelliot, "Le plus ancien possesseur connu du "Kou K'ai-tche" du British Museum," *T'oung Pao* 30 (1933), no. 3/5:453–455. Ye Mengde (1077–1148), in his *Bishu hualu,* said a version of Lu Hong's *Thatched Cottage* picture was owned by Liu Youfang. See Dong You, *Guangchuan huaba jiaozhu,* 401n12. Li Zhiyi (act. 11th c.) prefaced a poem by relating how "the collector of famous paintings" Liu Youfang owned a superb version of *The Night Outing of Lady Guoguo* by Zhang Xuan, for which Su Shi wrote a poem as a colophon, at Liu's request. Yuan Wen (1119–1190) said he had seen this picture and that it had once been in the family collection of the high minister Yan Shu (991–1055) and later gone to the imperial storehouse. On it Huizong had written "Done by Zhang Xuan." See Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 239. The three titles discussed here appear in *Xuanhe huapu,* under their respective artists.

43. He may have learned this from being at his father's side at court, as well. According to Guo Si, Emperor Shenzong asked Liu Youfang to have Guo Xi evaluate and classify the collection of paintings in the imperial archives. See Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 188. It is hard to imagine there was not a crowd of inner-court spectators for this activity.

44. On Huan Tan (ca. 43 BCE–28 CE), see David R. Knechtges, "Huan Tan," in *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide,* 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2010–2014), 1:390–396.

45. Reading *shanse* 山色 or "mountain scene," for *seshan* 色山.

46. This was the new name for the post of Commissioner of the Palace Audience Gate of the East (Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 7450), changed in 1112. See Toghto et al, *Song shi,* 169.4055.

47. Of these three titles, the first was a prestige title, indicating rank, the second was a sinecure military post, and the third was his actual job. Precisely what Liang did in Sagacious Contemplation Hall is not known. Maggie Bickford has argued that a range of art-management activities took place in the Eastern Pavilion of Sagacious Contemplation Hall. See her "Making the Chinese Cultural Heritage at the Courts of Northern Sung China," *Conference on Founding Paradigms: Papers on the Art and Culture of Northern Sung China,* ed. Wang Yaoting (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2008), 508–510.

48. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1133.

49. A well-known and much admired poem by Ouyang Xiu that shows great imagination in conveying the sense of sounds. See Stephen H. West, "Autumn Sounds: Music to the Ears / Ouyang Xiu's '*Fu* on Autumn's Sounds,'" *Early Medieval China* 10–11.2 (2005):73–100.

50. The mausoleum of Emperor Zhezong, near Gongyi, Henan Province.

51. Juran served at the court of Li Yu and accompanied him to Kaifeng in 975. See ZGMSJRMCD, 161; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 195–203; S. Ueda, "Chü-jan," in Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies,* 2:31–33; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 64–65; Soper, *Experiences,* 61, 89, 175n518; for comments by Shen Kuo and Mi Fu, see Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 119 and 231.

52. This description of literary creation appears to come from *Wen xuan*. See *Zhongwen dacidian,* 39743.266, under *lianlei.*

53. I can find no source for this statement or for the criticism of his style as "soft."

54. Possibly this is a reference to his mural, said by Su Song (1020–1101) and Ouyang Xiu to be on the north wall of the Jade Hall. See Jang, "Realm of the Immortals," 87–88.

55. The *Register of Paintings* (*Hualu*) was a document maintained by the Palace Library. Titles of paintings acquired by the government and other information about artists and artworks were entered into it. For more on the subject of this record of paintings, see Foong Ping, Review of Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *Accumulating Culture: The Collections of Emperor Huizong, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 71, no. 2 (2011):409–421.

56. The painting in the Cleveland Museum of Art with this title has the number "five" written on it, and Wai-kam Ho has suggested it was one of this set of six pictures. See his entry for cat. no. 11, in *Eight Dynasties of Chinese Painting: The Collections of the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City, and the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980), 15.

57. The Yuan edition of *Xuanhe huapu* lists just one picture here, which the modern editions correct to two, presumably to bring the total up to 136.

58. Probably the island in the Yangzi River near Zhenjiang.

59. This line was probably taken from THJWZ. See Soper, *Experiences,* 103, but the original source was likely *Xin Tang shu:* "In 670, an embassy came to court [from Japan] to offer congratulations on the conquest of Goguryeo. After some had studied Chinese, they came to dislike the name Yamato and changed it to Nippon. The envoy himself said that name was chosen because the country was close to where the sun rises." See Ouyang and Song, *Xin Tang shu,* 220.6208. My translation of this entry is based, with emendations, on that in Alexander C. Soper, "The Rise of Yamato-e," *The Art Bulletin* 24, no. 4 (December 1942):351–379, esp. 374.

60. Mi Fu knew of a Japanese landscape in color that had been attributed to Li Sixun during the Southern Tang. See *Huashi,* in *Songren hualun,* 150.

# Chapter Thirteen

## Prefatory Explanation for Domestic and Wild Animals

"The hexagram *qian* symbolizes Heaven. The movement of Heaven is full of power. Therefore, it is the horse. The hexagram *kun* symbolizes Earth. Earth carries a heavy burden and is receptive. It is thus the ox."[1] The horse and the ox are domestic animals, but in the larger sense of *qian* and *kun,* they are symbolic. The notion that "heavy loads could thus be transported and distant regions reached" has been shown to have been taken from the hexagram *sui* in the *Book of Changes*.[2] For this reason, painters who have portrayed horses and oxen and gained renown are numerous. As for tigers, leopards, deer, boars, roebucks, and hares, they are untamed animals, and painters portray them in barren or wintry wilds, leaping and coursing without halters or hobbles, simply to capture their unrestrained spirits in their paintings. Dogs, sheep, and cats, however, as the animals that live closely with man, are extremely difficult to do skillfully. It is hard to find a painter in this age who can skillfully put them among flowers or next to bamboo, on dancing rugs or against brocade curtains, without depicting them wagging their tails to get attention.[3] From the Jin to this dynasty, for horses there was Shi Daoshi in the Jin and Cao Ba and Han Gan in the Tang. For oxen, there was Dai Song and his younger brother Dai Yi in the Tang, Li Guizhen in the Five Dynasties period, and Zhu Yi in this dynasty. For dogs, there was Zhao Bowen in the Tang, Zhang Jizhi in the Five Dynasties period, and Lingsong of the royal house in our dynasty. For sheep, there was Luo Saiweng of the Five Dynasties period. For tigers, there was Li Jian of the Tang, and this

dynasty has Zhao Mochuo. For cats, there was Li Aizhi of the Five Dynasties period, while this dynasty had Wang Ning and Venerable Master "He." Although there is detailed information in the various catalogues for the twenty-seven men from the Jin, Tang, Five Dynasties period, and this dynasty who painted domestic and wild animals, only generalities can be put forward for the best of them. There remain the tigers painted by Bao Ding and the oxen painted by Pei Wenxian, which were not without renown in their day, yet their manner was vulgar and rough.[4] If Bao Ding were to see [the works of] Li Jian or Pei Wenxian were to view those of Dai Song, how could they not draw their hands back into their sleeves? Therefore, it is not appropriate they be selected for this *Catalogue*.

## Domestic and Wild Animals, One

Jin
    Shi Daoshi
Tang
    Yuanchang, Prince of Han; Xu, Prince of Jiangdu; Wei Wutian, Cao Ba, Pei Kuan, Han Gan, Wei Jian, Wei Yan, Zhao Bowen, Dai Song, Dai Yi, Li Jian, Li Zhonghe, Zhang Fu

The hometown of Shi Daoshi is unknown.[5] He was one of four brothers, all of whom gained a name for being good at painting. Daoshi was especially skilled at men and horses and at geese. In the beginning, he and Wang Wei both studied Xun Xu and Wei Xie.[6] Though no difference in their artistic abilities could be discerned, Xie He said, "Wang captured the idea, while Shi transmitted the form-likeness."[7] What this simply means is that what Wei captured was their spirit, and what Daoshi depicted was their form. Idea and spirit both transcend outward appearances in "the reds-and-blues," while form and likeness are inseparable from the pathways of brush and ink, so it is appropriate to use these in order to discriminate [between the two artists]. At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Three Horses,* one picture
*Eight Noble Steeds,* one picture[8]
*Oxen,* one picture

The Prince of Han, Yuanchang, was the seventh son of Gaozu.[9] As a youth, he studied widely and was good at painting. Li Sizhen said of Yuanchang that "he had the royal demeanor, broad knowledge and mastery of the arts, considerable personal style, and natural superiority."[10] His paintings of saddle horses, eagles, and falcons circulated at the time, and even Yan Lide and Liben were not ranked with him.[11] His paintings of horses were especially skilled. If he had not had these thousand-*li* horses that could race ahead of Hualiu in his heart, how would he have been capable of making his hand convey what was in his mind?[12] At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Tethered Horse,* one picture
*Mounted Hunters,* two pictures

The Prince of Jiangdu, Xu, was the son of Yuangui, Prince of Huo, of the Tang dynasty, and a nephew of Emperor Taizong.[13] He was capable at calligraphy and painting and excelled at saddle-horses, for which he gained fame. He held the official post of Prefect of Jinzhou. It has been said that scholars are most fond of painting horses because they utilize the horse as a metaphor for talent. The slowness or quickness of the nag or the thoroughbred, in reclusion or in prominence, experiencing good fortune or difficulties, illustrate the ways a scholar might fare in the world. This is not confined to painting, for poets also expressed their feelings in this subject. For this reason, horse painters can be counted on the fingers. Du Zimei once looked at a painting of horses by Cao Ba and wrote in a poem, "Since the founding of the dynasty, in painting of saddled horses / for divine skill one counts alone the Prince of Jiangdu."[14] From this we know how valued Xu was in his day. At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

Sketch-copy of *Quanmaowa,* one picture[15]
*Horses and Grooms,* one picture
*Tribute Horses,* one picture

Wei Wutian was a man of Chang'an. He and his younger brother Wuzong were both famous for painting.[16] Wutian enjoyed renown at the court of Minghuang for painting horses and strange beasts. At that time, a lion was sent as tribute by a foreign country, and as soon as Wutian saw it, he began to paint. The painting was so lifelike that all animals that caught sight of it shrank from it. Once Minghuang went out hunting, and he shot two wild boar with a single arrow at the Yuanwu North Gate.[17] He

immediately ordered Wutian to depict them, and the picture became one of the wonders of the age. Certainly, the natures and appearances of all kinds of animals range from those that are noble in their majesty and fortitude to those that are lovely in their docility and gentleness. They have differences in their feet, claws, fur, and manes, and one has to distinguish how they are when they are aroused from how they are when they are tranquil. Other artists did not understand these fine points; only Wutian had this sort of knowledge. In his day, Wutian's extraordinary skill in painting of four-legged beasts was praised. How could these be empty words! Wutian served as General-in-chief of the Left Militant Guard. At present, there are nine works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Exercising Horses,* one picture
*Horses Out to Pasture,* one picture
*Shepherd's Flute, Returning with Oxen,* one picture
*Cats Frolicking amid Mountain Rocks,* one picture
*Cats Frolicking amid Mallows,* one picture
*Cats Frolicking,* one picture
*A Delightful Excursion,* one picture
*The Prince of Ning Returning Home Drunk,* one picture[18]
*Mallows,* one picture

Cao Ba was the descendant of Mao.[19] Mao was praised for his painting during the Wei Kingdom. Ba was already famous in the Kaiyuan period. During the latter part of the Tianbao period, he was often ordered to depict the imperial horses and do portraits of meritorious officials. He served as General-in-chief of the Left Militant Guard. When Du Zimei, in his "Song of a Painting," said, "In painting you took no note of old age coming upon you / luxury and rank seemed to you no more than drifting clouds," he was addressing Ba.[20] Zimei truly understood painting. Tuizhi once said, "If a man has somewhere to lodge his skill and intelligence so as to keep his own mind responsive to the power of invention and his creative energy unbroken by vicissitude, then his spirit will be whole and his resolve will be firm." This comment is similar. The line, "no one swayed by external interests to change his field of endeavor can 'enter the hall' or 'savor the finest morsels,'" is true indeed![21] In his later years, it seems Ba "drifted along on the margins of clashing arms," and gave up his profession, apparently illustrating Zimei's line about him: "Luxury and rank seemed to you no more than drifting clouds."[22] At present, there are fourteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Fleet Thoroughbred,* two pictures
*The Piebald, Flowers-of-Jade,* one picture[23]
*Horses in the Stable,* two pictures
*Training Horses in the Imperial Stables,* one picture
*Old Thoroughbred,* two pictures
*Nine Horses,* three pictures
*Herding Horses,* one picture
*Horses and Grooms,* one picture
*Tethered Horse,* one picture

Pei Kuan was a man of Wenxi, Jiangzhou.[24] His uncle Cui was famous at that time. When Kuan grew up, he entered government service through his literary abilities, and in all the endeavors he engaged in he was praised for his talent. He served as Military Commissioner and Investigation Commissioner of Fanyang under the reign of Minghuang, for which he received imperial favor and appreciation. His biography in the Tang history does not say that Kuan had ability at painting, but only that "he was particularly skillful at archery on horseback, playing chess, and pitch-pot."[25] His ability at painting can be inferred from this. Generally speaking, many Tang men were capable at calligraphy and painting, whether or not they cared to reveal it. Because so few of his paintings circulated, biographies and catalogues do not record them. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Small Horses*

Han Gan was a man of Chang'an.[26] After one look at his painting, Wang Wei praised him. He held the post of General-in-chief of the Left Militant Guard.[27] At the start of the Tianbao era, Minghuang summoned Gan to serve as a Court Servitor. At that time Chen Hong enjoyed renown for his horse paintings, so the emperor ordered Gan to take him as a teacher.[28] Gan did not follow this order, and later the emperor asked Gan why. Gan said, "Your servant has his own teachers. The horses that are in the imperial stables, those are your servant's teachers." From that, Minghuang marveled at him all the more. In his "Song of a Painting," Du Zimei said, "Among your disciples Han Gan was early your foremost follower."[29] This means Cao Ba was Gan's teacher, yet how could Zimei have known this? Among the paintings of horses from antiquity, there was *Eight Noble Steeds of King Mu of Zhou,* in which Yan Liben's painting of the horses was a close copy of Zhan [Ziqian] and Zheng [Fashi], who made the muscles and bones highly visible, for which they were famous in

their day. Following the advent of the Kaiyuan period, when the realm was at peace, many foreign countries sent emissaries with their famed horses in train, so that the imperial stables came to hold the "Flying Yellow," "Shining Light of Night," "Drifting Cloud," and "Five Directions" types of mounts.[30] These were what Gan took as his teachers. As for [Du Fu's statement that] "Gan paints only the flesh, he does not paint the bone," actually it was his stripping away everything beyond Zhan and Zheng that allowed success in establishing his own tradition.[31] Unexpectedly, one evening a man wearing a crimson robe and a dark cap knocked at Gan's door and said, "I am a ghost emissary. Having heard you are good at painting fine horses, I want you to give me one." Gan immediately made a painting and burned it. Later, someone sent him a hundred bolts of silk as thanks, and though he never learned where it had come from, likely it was the "ghost emissary." At the beginning of the Jianzhong era, a man led a horse to see the doctor, but the doctor had never before seen such hair color or physiognomy.[32] Then he ran into Gan. Startled, Gan said, "Truly, I have a picture at home of that horse." For quite a while he stroked it, marveling at how much his picture had happened to match it. The horse seemed to stumble a bit, as though its front foot was injured. Finding this perplexing, Gan returned home to look at the horse in the painting, where he found that the same foot was lacking one dot of ink. He realized his painting was alive! Mi Fu recorded this in his *History of Painting:* In the Jiayou era, a man had been sent to Jiangnan, and as he tried to cross [the Yangzi River] from Caishi-Niuzhu Jetty, a great wind arose that prevented him from crossing, so he went to the temple of the God of the River to pray. That night he dreamed the god said to him, "if you leave behind your horse, you will be helped to ford." After he awoke, he donated the horse painting by Gan in his collection. Immediately, the wind stopped, and he made the crossing. To this day the painting remains in the temple. Mi Fu's allusion made in his [final] line, "when the Jade Tower was completed in Heaven, Li He had to write the inscription," is so true![33] Talented men have always been hard to get. Not only are there few in this world, there are few in Heaven, too. At present, there are fifty-two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Minghuang Viewing Horses,* one picture
*The Dragon-Horse of Wenhuang,* one picture[34]
*The Prince of Ning Training a Horse,* one picture
*Eight Noble Steeds,* one picture
*Official Grooms Training Horses,* four pictures
*Six Horses,* one picture
*Minghuang Examining Horses,* one picture

*Knights-Errant of Wuling,* one picture[35]
*Three Horses,* one picture
*Tribute Horses,* five pictures
*The Five Princes on an Outing,* one picture
*Horses in the Imperial Stables,* three pictures
*Mounted Company,* one picture
*Thoroughbreds at Pasture,* three pictures
*Hunting with Falcons,* one picture
*Sketch of Imperial Horses with Three Blossoms,* one picture
*Grooms Training Horses,* one picture
*Training Horses,* three pictures
*Exercising Horses,* two pictures
*Riders on an Outing,* two pictures
*Knights-Errant on Horseback,* two pictures
*Li Bai Appointed to Office,* two pictures
*Old Thoroughbred,* one picture
*Riders Exercising Horses,* one picture
*The White, Flowers-of-Jade,* one picture[36]
*Horses in the Stable,* four pictures
*Imperial Stables,* one picture
*Shoeing Horses,* one picture
*Minghuang Shooting Deer,* two pictures
*Battle Horse,* two pictures

Wei Jian was a man of Chang'an.[37] He was good at painting dragon-horses.[38] His younger brother Luan was skilled at landscapes and pines and rocks. Luan's son Yan was also famous in his day for painting horses and pines and rocks. Jian was actually the progenitor. Moreover, since nothing can traverse the heavens like the dragon and nothing can traverse the earth like the horse, Jian alone was famous for his dragon-horses. Only those who can understand their special qualities know about the energy of dragons in their uninhibited ascent and descent, free from all bonds and supported by the winds and clouds, as well as of steeds raised to travel a thousand *li* who can chase shadows and pursue lightning. Not many of his works circulated in the world. At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Seven Worthies,* two pictures
*Tribute Horses,* one picture

Wei Yan's father Luan was good at painting landscapes and pines and

rocks. Though his fame at the time was considerable, he did not avoid falling into antique clumsiness.[39] Although Yan followed the family manner, he had vigorous brushwork, and his style was superior.[40] His transformations of mists and clouds in wind and his twisting [pines] and strangely formed [rocks] far surpassed his father's. Still people only know Yan as good at painting horses. This is likely because of the lines in Du Zimei's "A Song for Yan's Painting of Horses": "You playfully picked up a worn-out brush and dashed off Hualiu steeds / and I suddenly saw unicorns come forth on my eastern wall."[41] However, he did not just paint horses, but also could do landscapes, pines and rocks, and figures very skillfully. Is it that people's knowledge is based solely on what is conveyed in Zimei's poem? This is like the flowers at Fourth Daughter Huang's home or the dancing of the Jianqi by Eldest Daughter Gongsun, which are well known for that reason.[42] At present, there are twenty-seven works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Men and Horses Going to Pasture,* one picture[43]
*Three Thoroughbreds,* one picture
*Three Horses,* one picture
*Five Horses of Mo River,* one picture[44]
*Herding Horses,* nine pictures
*Horses at Pasture,* three pictures
*Herding Oxen,* one picture
*Oxen,* one picture
*Herding a Pace of Donkeys,* one picture
*Early Outing,* two pictures
*Reading the Stele,* two pictures
*Pines and Rocks,* three pictures
*Eminent Monks beneath the Pines,* one picture

Zhao Bowen was the son of Zhao Juan, who served as Vice Director of the Left in the Department of State Affairs.[45] He pursued classical studies his whole life, but he was fond of "the reds-and-blues," and he is considered most skilled at court ladies and hares and dogs. Even though court ladies and hares and dogs may be observed directly, it is easy enough to capture a likeness of their forms, so Wang Fei and Zhou Fang were famous for them in their day.[46] If Bowen were comparable to them, it would be because he had grasped something that lies beyond mere brushwork and was not limited to the commonplace form-likeness that was the prevalent fashion.[47] At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Hares and Dogs*

The hometown of Dai Song is unknown.[48] Early on, when Han Huang, Duke of Jin, was Military Commissioner for Zheyou, he ordered Song to serve as an Inspector.[49] Though [Dai] studied Huang's painting, he could not reach his level, with the exception of oxen, where he was able to express fully their untamed nature, and in this he far surpassed Huang. His scenes of farmhouses, streams, and open country were all very skilled.[50] Of course, how could there be animals such as these at court? Naturally, Huang would be beneath him in this subject. Of all paintings of oxen that have circulated in the world, Song's are foremost. His younger brother Yi also gained fame for painting oxen. At present, there are thirty-eight works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Herding Oxen on Spring Slopes,* one picture
*Herding Oxen in Spring,* one picture
*Herding Oxen,* ten pictures
*Oxen Fording a Stream,* one picture
*Oxen Returning,* two pictures
*Oxen Drinking,* two pictures
*Oxen Emerging from Water,* two pictures
*Young Oxen,* seven pictures
*Oxen Frolicking,* one picture
*Oxen Running,* three pictures
*Oxen Fighting,* two pictures
*Ox Calf,* one picture
*Oxen Galloping,* one picture
*Water Buffalo,* two pictures
*White Ox,* one picture
*Herding Oxen across the Water,* one picture

Dai Yi was Song's younger brother.[51] Song was famous in his day for painting oxen. Because "his will was undivided, he was able to concentrate his spirit."[52] If a person focuses on one thing, how can he fail to achieve skill that enters [into the Way]? This is just like the ferryman steering the boat or the carving of a bell stand by Carpenter Qing, who both attained to this.[53] For this reason, Song's ox paintings demonstrated the greatest skill in his day. When Yi studied with Song, he was able to follow in his footsteps. Although he was fond of depicting them galloping freely, he did not avoid showing the way the animals were restrained. How else could he make viewers understand what the admonition was? At

present, there are five works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Herding Oxen amid Pines and Rocks,* one picture
*Young Oxen on a Level Slope,* one picture
*Oxen Galloping,* one picture
*Oxen Fighting,* one picture
*Oxen Running,* one picture

The hometown of Li Jian is unknown.[54] He held the government post of Prefect of Xinzhou. He was good at painting barbarian horses and figures, and his highest skill was reached in scenes of herding amid streams and open country. His artworks had a personal style and were called peerless at that time. Though his son Zhonghe was capable of continuing his art, his brush force never reached his father's. At present, there are seven works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Herding Horses amid Streams and Open Country,* two pictures
*Three Horses,* one picture
*Galloping Steed,* one picture
*Herding Horses,* two pictures
*Tiger Fighting Oxen,* one picture

Li Zhonghe was the son of Li Jian, the Prefect of Xinzhou.[55] He was good at painting barbarian horses and figures, and while he had inherited the manner of his father, his brush force never reached his father's. Several generations in the family of the Grand Councilor Linghu Tao had served as ministers.[56] In their home was a screen with a small painting of men and horses [by Zhonghe] that was particularly accomplished. Emperor Xianzong once took it and put it on display in the palace. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Horses,* a small picture

The hometown of Zhang Fu is unknown.[57] He was good at painting oxen and quite skilled at brushwork, which he got from Han Huang, making him a follower of Han. His paintings of *Tending Oxen* particularly capture the feel of a village set in the countryside with its breezes and mists, where a boy plays his flute while lying on the grass. He wears a straw rain cape and a bamboo hat, and he and the ox have practically "forgotten each other." How could he have captured this with his brush if he had not understood their feelings and had skill that entered [into the Way]? At

present, there are five works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Oxen Fording a Stream,* one picture
*Tending Oxen,* three pictures
*Water Buffalo,* one picture

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1. Quoted from the subcommentary on the *Yijing* by Kong Yingda (574–648). See his *Zhouyi jianyi,* in *Chongkan Songben Shisanjing zhushu: fu jiaokan ji* (Nanchang: Nanchang fuxue, 1815), 9.185.

2. A paraphrase of the *Yici xia* commentary. See *Shisan jing,* 1:81; *The I Ching,* trans. Wilhelm and Baynes, 471.

3. This portion of the translation is based on Richard Barnhart's translation in Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 124–125.

4. Liu Daochun did not include Bao Ding (act. ea. 11th c.) in his book, either, saying, "How crass are those who, nowadays, take Bao Ding's tigers to be superior!" See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 69. See also Soper, *Experiences,* 68; and Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 216–219. Chen Shidao (1053–1101) said Bao Ding would seclude himself to gain a vision of a "true tiger," then paint until "his conception was exhausted" and leave, without completing the painting. See Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 219. In 1034, Pei Wenxian (act. ca. 1034–1064) was appointed as a Painter-in-Attendance to the Painting Academy. He is praised as a painter of water buffalo by Liu Daochun, who disparages other contemporary painters of the subject, which the authors of the *Catalogue* seem to have misunderstood as criticism for him. See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 69–70. Guo Ruoxu does not disparage Pei; see Soper, *Experiences,* 68.

5. See ZGMSJRMCD, 159; Chen, *Liuchao huajia shiliao,* 132–133; Soper, *Experiences,* under Shih Tao-shih, 10, 73; LDMHJ, ch. 5; LDMHJQY, 315–317; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:82–84. This entry is simply an expansion of the LDMHJ entry, errors and all.

6. For Wei Xie, see chapter 5. Xun Xu (d. 289) was a high official of the Jin dynasty, skilled at literature and painting. See Chen, *Liuchao huajia shiliao,* 59–68. Wang Wei (415–453) was a member of the aristocratic Langye Wang clan, who shunned office and focused on the arts. See Chen, *Liuchao huajia shiliao,* 176–181, and Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-Tang Texts,* 2:128–137.

7. This misquotation from Xie He is the same one found in LDMHJ, ch. 5. See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:82. In the present edition of his *Gu Huapin lu,* Xie He actually said, "Wang captured the details, while Shi transmitted the reality." He then judged Wang the inferior of the two, which contradicts the statement made here. See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 1:27.

8. Quite likely these are the eight noble steeds of King Mu of the Zhou dynasty, believed to have been an ancient painting subject. See Guo Ruoxu's entry on the topic in Soper, *Experiences,* 73–74.

9. Emperor Gaozu of Tang ruled from 618 to 626. For Li Yuanchang (d. 643), see ZGMSJRMCD, 346; biographies in Liu, *Jiu Tang shu,* 64.2425–2426 and Ouyang and Song, *Xin Tang shu,* 79.3549; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 207; LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 437–438; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:207–208.

10. As quoted in LDMHJ, ch. 9. See LDMHJQY, 438.

11. This is Zhang Yanyuan's estimation; see LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 438.

12. Hualiu was one of King Mu of Zhou's eight noble steeds.

13. See ZGMSJRMCD, 401; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 79–84; mentioned at the end of the biographies of his father Yuangui (b. ca. 623–688) in Liu, *Jiu Tang shu,* 64.2431 and Ouyang and Song, *Xin Tang shu,* 79.3554; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 207; Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue," 23; LDMHJ, ch. 10; LDMHJQY, 516; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:272.

14. From Du Fu, "Seeing the Pictures of Horses by General Cao at the Home of Secretary Wei Feng," in Owen, trans., *Poetry of Du Fu,* 3:397.

15. One of the six famous steeds of Emperor Taizong of Tang, named in Du Fu, "Seeing the Pictures of Horses by General Cao at the Home of Secretary Wei Feng," in Owen, trans., *Poetry of Du Fu,* 3:397. Although Owen translates its name as "Curly-Hair Brown," I am leaving it in the phonetic rendering because I subscribe to Ge Chengyong's theory that these horses' names were Turkic. See Ge Chengyong, "Shipo Tang 'Zhaoling liujun' laiyuan zhi mi," *Xungen* 2000.2:99–104.

16. This is a paraphrase, with errors introduced, of the entry in TCMHL. See Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 217. See also ZGMSJRMCD, 648; LDMHJ, ch. 9; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:250–251; Soper, *Experiences,* 76; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 144–146. For Wuzong, see Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:251.

17. This is the Xuanwu Gate of Chang'an. The Yuan edition avoids the character *xuan.* The anecdote in TCMHL has Wei painting the boar on the Xuanwu Gate. See Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 217.

18. The Prince of Ning was Li Xian (679–742), Emperor Ruizong's eldest son.

19. Cao Mao ruled the state of Wei from 254 to 260 and was posthumously termed Shaodi. He has an entry in LDMHJ, ch. 4. See LSMHJQY, 256–257. For Cao Ba (act. mid-8th c.), see ZGMSJRMCD, 902; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 129–137; LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 502–503; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:260; Soper, *Experiences,* 22.

20. Du Fu, "Song of a Painting: Presented to General Cao Ba," Owen, trans., *Poetry of Du Fu,* 3:393.

21. Both quotes are from "Preface Seeing Off the Monk Gaoxian," by Han Yu (768–824). See Charles Hartman, *Han Yü and the T'ang Search for Unity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 222–223.

22. Du Fu, "Song of a Painting: Presented to General Cao Ba," Owen, trans., *Poetry of Du Fu,* 3:397 and 395.

23. A horse ridden by Emperor Xuanzong, cited in Du Fu's "Song of a Painting." See Owen, trans., *Poetry of Du Fu,* 3:395.

24. A biography of Pei Kuan (679–754) is in Ouyang and Song, *Xin Tang shu,* 130.4488–4490. His uncle Cui died in 736.

25. Ibid., 130.4488.

26. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1483; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 149–179; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 214–216; LDMHJ, ch. 3, section 4 (Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 1:274–275) and ch. 9 (Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:260–263). For chapter 9, see also LDMHJQY, 503–507, where 503n1 details the discrepancies in various accounts of Han Gan; Soper, *Experiences,* 5, 6, 22, 77, 80–81.

27. Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 149 calls this title an error.

28. See the entry on Chen Hong in chapter 5.

29. Du Fu's "Song of a Painting." See Owen, trans., *Poetry of Du Fu,* 3:395.

30. The Yuan text has "five directions," which is likely an error for "five blossoms," indicating a style of mane groomed into five bunches. This is the term given in TCMHL, from which much of this entry is taken. See Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 215n62.

31. These lines are quoted by Zhang Yanyuan in his entry on Han Gan. See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:260. For an interpretation of possible political symbolism involved in this apparent criticism, see Joseph J. Lee, "Tu Fu's Art Criticism and Han Kan's Horse Painting," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 90, no. 3 (Jul.–Sep., 1970):449–461.

32. This anecdote is from the ninth-century *Youyang zazu* by Duan Chengshi. See Soper, "A Vacation Glimpse of the T'ang Temples of Ch'ang-an," 16–17.

33. For this anecdote, see Vandier-Nicolas, *Le Houa-che de Mi Fou,* 138–140, and Mi, *Huashi,* in *Songren hualun,* 176. The call to duty in heaven was the explanation for the sudden, untimely death of Li He (790–816).

34. Wenhuang refers to Tang Taizong. A dragon-horse is an imperial horse. See Owen, trans., *Poetry of Du Fu,* 3:393.

35. Wuling were the five early Western Han imperial tombs north of the Wei River and hence represent the five counties that are the present area of Xianyang, Shaanxi Province.

36. Probably Minghuang's horse, "The Piebald, Flowers-of-Jade."

37. See ZGMSJRMCD, 651; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 290–292, under Wei Yan; Soper, *Experiences,* 22; LDMHJ, ch. 10; LDMHJQY, 528; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:281.

38. In his "Song of a Painting," Du Fu referred to the imperial horse painted by Cao Ba as a "true dragon," contrasting it to "common horses." See Owen, trans., *Poetry of Du Fu,* 3:393.

39. This is Zhang Yanyuan's assessment. See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:281.

40. See ZGMSJRMCD, 649; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 290–299; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 219; LDMHJ, ch. 10; LDMHJQY, 528–529; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:281–282; Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 203–204, in which he also quotes Du Fu.

41. The poem is called "A Song for Wei Yan's Mural of Horses." See Owen, *Poetry of Du Fu,* 2:311.

42. Because they, too, are immortalized in poems by Du Fu. The first is found in "Strolling Alone by the Riverside, Looking for Flowers," and the second is in "On Seeing a Student of Eldest Daughter Gongsun Dance the Jianqi." See Owen, trans., *Poetry of Du Fu,* 3:29 and 5:333.

43. Richard Edwards suggests the copy made by Li Gonglin may be of this picture. See Edwards, "Li Gonglin's Copy of Wei Yan's 'Pasturing Horses,'"171.

44. Or possibly Five Horses of Mo Jiang.

45. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1289; LDMHJ, ch. 10; LDMHJQY, 542; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:292–293.

46. See chapter 6 for both.

47. In the entry on Wang Fei in chapter 6, it says that Fei did surpass him considerably.

48. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1453; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 369–377; Soper, *Experiences,* 22; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 224–225; LDMHJ, ch. 10;

LDMHJQY, 545; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:295.

49. The entry for Han Huang is in chapter 6.

50. This first section taken from Zhang Yanyuan. See Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:295.

51. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1454. Zhang Yanyuan has a single line: "Yi, Song's younger brother, also excelled at water buffaloes." See LDMHJ, ch. 10; LDMHJQY, 545; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:295.

52. From the "Mastering Life" chapter of *Zhuangzi.* See Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 200.

53. References to two anecdotes in the "Mastering Life" chapter of *Zhuangzi.* The first is: "Yen Yuan said to Confucius, 'I once crossed the gulf at Goblet Deeps and the ferryman handled the boat with supernatural skill.'" The second is: "Woodworker Ch'ing carved a piece of wood and made a bell stand, and when it was finished, everyone who saw it marveled, for it seemed to be the work of gods or spirits." See Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 200 and 205.

54. See ZGMSJRMCD, 398; LDMHJ, ch. 10; LDMHJQY, 546; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:295–296.

55. See ZGMSJRMCD, 354; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 227. This entry is a paraphrase of the one in LDMHJ, ch. 10. See LDMHJQY, 546; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:295–296.

56. Linghu Tao lived from 795 to 872.

57. See ZGMSJRMCD, 850. The fragment of Niu Jian's *Hua ping* found in *Peiwenzhai shuhuapu* says, "Zhang Fu gained fame in the Tang for painting oxen. I once saw a single scroll of his *Oxen Fording a Stream.* [I rank him] below Dai Song. Fu was self-styled 'Master of Mist and Waves.'" See *Peiwenzhai shuhuapu,* 47.8a.

# Chapter Fourteen

### Domestic and Wild Animals, Two

Five Dynasties
Luo Saiweng, Zhang Jizhi, Li Guizhen, Li Aizhi
Song Dynasty
Lingsong, Zhao Mochuo, Zhu Yi, Zhu Ying, Zhen Hui, Wang Ning, Qi Xu, Venerable Master "He"

Luo Saiweng was the son of Yin, the Magistrate of Qiantang, and he served in government in Wuzhong Prefecture.[1] He was fond of "the reds-and-blues" and good at painting sheep. Though his skill was outstanding, his works were rarely seen. Yin gained fame in his day for poetry, but though Saiweng only lodged his mind in "the reds-and-blues," his use of imagination was similar to poets and writers. At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Tending Oxen*
*Sea Creatures*

Zhang Jizhi was a man of Chang'an.[2] He painted dogs, horses, flowers, and birds quite skillfully. When he did dogs, he captured their loyal sincerity without depicting them wagging their tails to get attention. His picture, *Mounted Archers,* which circulated in the world, shows [the riders] holding goshawks on their arms, leading dogs, drawing their bows, and spurring

their horses to gallop. His brush force is extremely heroic and untrammeled. Through all the warfare of the Five Dynasties period, however, it had become the custom to depict dogs and horses, so it seems unavoidable that he would specialize in that subject. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Sketch of Dogs*

No one knows the hometown of Li Guizhen, the Daoist adept.[3] He was good at painting oxen and tigers, and skilled also at bamboo, sparrows, and birds of prey. Though he was called a Daoist adept, he did not wear the Daoist costume, but wore only a single cloth robe. Wandering the streets, he would see the banners flying from the upper story of a wine shop and head for it as if for home. Whenever anyone asked him about himself, he would open his mouth wide and put his fist in it, without answering, so people were unable to fathom him. One day, Emperor Taizu of the Zhu Liang dynasty summoned him to an audience and asked him, "What art do you have, sir?"[4] Guizhen said in reply, "Your servant wears a single garment and loves wine. I use wine to ward off the winter cold, and I use my paintings to buy wine. Beyond that, I have no abilities." Liang [Tai]zu comprehended him. One can see from this statement what an unusual person he was. Is there any difference between this and someone who awakes and recognizes nothing about the world? Truly he lodged this in his painting. There were imperial icons of excellent craftsmanship in the Xinguo Priory in Nanchang that continually suffered the indignity of sparrow and pigeon droppings, so Guizhen painted a sparrow hawk on the wall between the figures, and from then on, they came no more.[5] This, too, was quite rare and marvelous. If it were not the result of his craft, then how could it have had such a spirit? At present, there are twenty-eight works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Clouds and Dragons,* one picture
*Young Tiger,* one picture
*Herding Oxen,* seven pictures
*Herding Oxen across a Stream,* two pictures
*Oxen Fording a Stream,* one picture
*Oxen at Pasture Seeing Their Reflections,* one picture
*Out to Pasture at the River Embankment,* one picture
*Bamboo Shoots and Young Rabbit,* one picture
*Cypress Grove and Water Buffalo,* one picture
*Young Oxen,* five pictures

*Cat and Bamboo,* one picture
*Roosting Birds,* one picture
*Magpies and Bamboo,* two pictures
*Bamboo Shoots,* one picture
*Bees, Butterflies, Magpies, and Bamboo,* one picture
*Melon Vines,* one picture

Li Aizhi was a man of Huayin.[6] He was good at painting mountains, forests, streams, and rocks, but especially fond of painting cats. He was treated very generously by Luo Shaowei, who built a pavilion, named Golden Waves, in which Aizhi could wield his brush.[7] At that time, Aizhi was called Recluse of Golden Waves. He had the skill to imagine the forests and streams of the recluse and the hermit, so what he put into his paintings was not the vulgar affairs of court service or the clamor of the streets, for he truly had "these hills and streams" in his breast. He was particularly skilled at painting cats. The ordinary painter of cats sets them beneath flowers, but Aizhi alone painted them among sprouting herbs. Were this not a subject in which recluses and hermits could express themselves, why would the viewer be moved by this profusion of beauty? At present, there are eighteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Cats Frolicking in Sprouting Herbs,* one picture
*Intoxicated Cats,* three pictures[8]
*Young Cats in Sprouting Herbs,* one picture
*Cat and Kittens Frolicking,* three pictures
*Cats Frolicking,* six pictures
*Small Cat,* one picture
*Cat and Kittens,* one picture
*Angry Cat,* one picture
*Cats,* one picture

Lingsong, of the royal house, had the style name Yongnian, and he gained renown equally for "the reds-and-blues" with his elder brother Lingrang.[9] He was skilled at painting flowers and bamboo, free from any vulgar tone. Though it is difficult to have skill in doing flowers and fruit in ink monochrome, Lingsong had uncommon ability at this. Still, his ingenuity in portraying rot and insect damage was excessive, which critics considered a flaw.[10] He gained particular fame in his day for painting dogs. A man of antiquity said, "When a painting of a tiger is unsuccessful, it will look like a dog."[11] Now the fact that Lingsong does dogs directly, could that be unintentional? He held the official positions of Militant

General of the Right and Military Training Commissioner for Xizhou. He was given a posthumous appointment as Surveillance Commissioner of Xuzhou and posthumous enfeoffment as Marquis of Pengcheng. At present, there are four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Auspicious Banana Plants and Pekinese Dogs,* one picture
*Flowers, Bamboo, and Pekinese Dogs,* one picture
*Banks of Autumn Chrysanthemums,* two pictures

The personal name of Zhao Mochuo [“Filthy”] has been lost, but since he was simple, rustic, and never dressed up, people called him “Filthy,” and his hometown is unknown.[12] He was good at painting tigers, and not only did he grasp their form-likeness, but their personality and manner were also skillfully captured. When the personality is there but the form-likeness is lacking, in spite of a sense of life, it will often “look like a dog.” When the form-likeness is complete, but it lacks the personality and manner, although it may be called similar, actually it will just be something from beneath the Nine Springs.[13] The only one who was good at form-likeness while skillful at personality and manner and able to make it similar and have a sense of life was Mochuo. Nowadays many people praise Bao Ding as in the forefront. Yet they are like a frog in a well or a small fish in shallow water—how can they discuss the breadth of the ocean? At present, there are eight works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Tigers in a Bamboo Thicket,* three pictures
*Tigers Emerging from the Mountains,* one picture
*Tigers Fighting on the Sand,* one picture
*Recumbent Tiger,* one picture
*Tame Tiger,* one picture
*Tigers,* one picture

Zhu Yi was a man of Jiangnan.[14] Together with his clansman Zhu Ying, he was famous for painting oxen. His scenes of fragrant grass in the setting sun, a solitary herd boy playing his flute, and out-of-the-way villages lack any feel of the clamor and bustle of striving for fame or fortune. Although he was not the equal of Dai Song, still, he was a famous master of later times. At present, there are six works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Tending Oxen,* three pictures
*Playing the Flute while Tending Oxen,* one picture
*Water Buffalo Drinking,* one picture

*Young Oxen,* one picture

Zhu Ying was a man of Jiangnan.[15] Like his clansman Zhu Yi, he gained fame for being good at painting oxen and horses, and he was especially skilled at figures. His works called *Tending Oxen* reached the epitome of skill. Drinking water and nibbling grass is in the essential nature of oxen.[16] If one could merely make a likeness of their forms and not delve into the principles of nature, then anyone could be a specialist. Only Ying and Yi understood this. At present, there are five works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Tending Oxen,* four pictures
*Oxen,* one picture

Zhen Hui was a man of Suiyang.[17] He was good at painting the Buddha and Indra. He stripped off any worldly appearance and gave them the awesome dignity of heavenly beings, which is why he was famous in his day. He was also expert at painting oxen and horses, in which his intent was realized with great skill. It is in the basic nature of oxen and horses to want to get loose of the rings in their noses. Yet when they are shown as controlled by whips and ropes, this can display the ideas of admonition or encouragement. Though painting is no more than a skill, it does contain ideas, and so it is a skill that can enter [into the Way]. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Herd-boy and Recumbent Ox,* one picture

The hometown of Wang Ning is unknown.[18] He once served as a Painter-in-Attendance in the Painting Academy. He was skilled at painting flowers, bamboo, and feathers-and-fur. His brushwork was methodic, and he captured a sense of life quite well. He was also skilled at such things as parrots and lion-cats. These are not things that those who do mountain groves and open countryside are capable of, for not only must [artists] seek to capture a likeness of their forms, but also the aristocratic feel they embody, so naturally this has a distinct style. No artist who cannot paint in this way will be successful. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Lion-cat on an Embroidered Cushion*[19]

Qi Xu (序, alternately 嶼) was a man of Jiangnan.[20] He was good at the specialized painting of flowers, bamboo, and wild birds, and also skilled at painting oxen. There were those who said he continued the style of Dai Song. As for his paintings of cats, they have rarely been equaled in recent times.[21] Cats and oxen, being creatures that are commonly seen, are difficult to do with skill. In the past, a man had a painting of fighting oxen, which everyone praised for its excellence, except for a farmer off to the side, who pointed out it had a flaw.[22] When asked what it was, he said, "When I have seen oxen fighting, their tails are usually pressed down, but here they are raised, which is wrong." When painters miss it, it is because they accept their own lack of thought. Qi also did fighting oxen that were quite novel. At present, there are forty-four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Oxen and Their Reflections in the Water,* one picture
*Young Oxen Fording a Stream,* two pictures
*The Four Hoaryheads Playing Chess,* three pictures
*Oleander Blossoms,* two pictures
*Fishermen's Joy on the Long River,* one picture
*Encountering an Old Friend in the Xiaoxiang Region,* two pictures[23]
*Drawing-under-Color Cockscomb Blooms,* one picture
*Herding Oxen,* twenty-two pictures
*Young Oxen,* three pictures
*Fighting Oxen,* two pictures
*Water Buffalo,* one picture
*Herding Sheep,* one picture
*Poet,* two pictures
*Tiger,* one picture

The hometown of Venerable Master "He" is unknown.[24] During the Longde era, he lived on Mount Heng and never revealed his name.[25] He roamed the area between Cangwu and the Five Ranges.[26] Though he was over one hundred years of age, whenever anyone caught sight of him, the appearance of his face was unchanged. Asked about his ancestry or age, he would only reply, *"He-he."*[27] Asked about his native village, he again said, "*He-he.*" As a result, people of the time called him Venerable Master "He." He never manifested any other artistry; he was simply fond of playing with brush and ink. He was skilled at doing flowers and rocks, and he was particularly praised in his day for his specialization in painting cats. His paintings of cats fully captured their attitudes, whether they were asleep or awake, walking or sitting, playing together or strolling

about, watching for mice or catching birds, washing their muzzles or grinding their teeth. It may be concluded that he was so peerless he could not be surpassed. It is said that cats are like tigers, with the only exception being their large ears and yellow eyes. What a pity that Venerable Master "He" could not go on to paint tigers, but remained skilled only at cats, for it seems not to be something an otherworldly person would study, but only something a person would lodge his mind in as a form of amusement. At present, there are thirty-four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Hollyhocks and Lake Tai Rocks,* one picture
*Cats Frolicking amid Mallows and Rocks,* six pictures
*Cats Frolicking amid Mountain Rocks,* one picture
*Mallows and Frolicking Cats,* two pictures
*Pack of Cats with Mallows and Rocks,* two pictures
*Cat and Kittens Frolicking,* one picture
*Three-Colored Amaranth and Frolicking Cats,* one picture
*Cat and Kittens,* one picture
*Peppermint and Intoxicated Cats,* one picture
*Pack of Cats,* one picture
*Frolicking Cats,* five pictures
*Cats,* one picture
*Intoxicated Cats,* ten pictures
*Cats Frolicking amid Pinks,* one picture[28]

1. The Luos were men of the Wu Yue Kingdom during the Five Dynasties period. Yin (833–909) was given this position in 887. See his biography in Xue, *Jiu Wudai shi,* 24.326–328. Wuzhong is modern Wuxian, Jiangsu Province. For Saiweng, see ZGMSJRMCD, 1507; Soper, *Experiences,* 27.

2. ZGMSJRMCD, 811–812, gives *Xuanhe huapu* as the sole source.

3. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1337; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 80–84; Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue," 29–30; Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 214; Soper, *Experiences,* 28–29.

4. Ruled 907–912, during the Later Liang dynasty (907–923).

5. According to THJWZ, the icons were of the Three Officers and were made during the reign of Minghuang. See Soper, *Experiences,* 29.

6. See ZGMSJRMCD, 413; Soper, *Experiences,* 29.

7. Also called Luo Wei (877–910), he was "an enthusiastic patron of the humanities." See Soper, *Experiences,* 141n300.

8. Intoxicated by peppermint or catnip.

9. Lingrang's entry is in chapter 20. For Lingsong, see Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 223.6488; ZGMSJRMCD, 1274; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 408–411. This

entry, except for the citation of his titles at the end, is a loose paraphrase of quotations from colophons by Huang Tingjian on paintings by Lingsong, which are directly attributed to Huang in Deng Chun's *Huaji,* 2.275. See also Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 411.

10. The critic was Huang Tingjian. His colophon on a painting by Lingsong is quoted in Deng, *Huaji,* 2.275.

11. A well-worn saying attributed to the Han-dynasty general Ma Yuan; Soper, *Experiences,* 184n563 gives the full context of the line.

12. I read Mochuo as a variant of *wochuo* 齷齪, meaning "dirty" or "filthy." See ZGMSJRMCD, 1299; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 212–215; Lachman has Chao Miao-cho (*Evaluations,* 69); Soper has Chao Mo-ch'o (*Experiences,* 68–69). This entry blends and elaborates on the SCMHL and THJWZ entries.

13. Since the Nine Springs means the underworld, the idea is that his paintings did not look vivid, but dead.

14. Here he is called Yi 義, but in the Table of Contents, he is called Xi 羲. ZGMSJRMCD, 228, has Xi.

15. See ZGMSJRMCD, 225.

16. A variation on "To munch grass, drink from the stream … this is the true nature of horses," from "Horses' Hoofs," Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 104.

17. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1207. Suiyang was near modern Shangqiu County, Henan.

18. See ZGMSJRMCD, 132.

19. Yue Ren says a lion-cat is a type of cat with long hair and a large tail. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 307n2.

20. See ZGMSJRMCD, 549; Soper, *Experiences,* 63.

21. A curious statement, given that Guo Ruoxu does not speak of this specialization (Soper, *Experiences,* 63), nor are any cat paintings listed here.

22. According to Guo Ruoxu, the man was one Ma Zhenghui, and the painting is ascribed to Li Guizhen. See Soper, *Experiences,* 95–96.

23. The same title is found under Han Huang's name in chapter 6.

24. See ZGMSJRMCD, 254; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 72, under Venerable Master "What"?; Soper, *Experiences,* 67, under Honored Master He.

25. Longde (921–923) was a reign-period of the Later Liang dynasty (907–923).

26. Area of modern Ningyuan County, Hunan Province.

27. A noncommittal sound, possibly akin to the modern slang response, "Whatever."

28. Reading *shizhuhua* 石竹花 as Chinese pinks (*Dianthus chinensis*), but could also be read separately as rocks, bamboo, and flowers.

# Chapter Fifteen

### Prefatory Explanation for Flowers and Birds

Since the essences of the five elements collect between heaven and earth, so that when *yin* and *yang* exhale there is abundance and flourishing, and when they inhale, there is gathering in, the beauty and luxuriance seen in the hundred grasses and hosts of trees can scarcely be calculated. Their forms and colors are self-generated, and even though Creation has never paid them any mind, they adorn all of nature and brighten the whole world. Moreover, everyone may look at them and their spirits made harmonious thereby. With regard to the "three hundred and sixty kinds of birdlife," each has its own sounds and colors, its own manner of drinking and pecking.[1] In the distance, they may be seen nesting in the wilds, sleeping on a sandbar, swimming in the water, frolicking on an open expanse of water, or bobbing on the deep. Nearby, they may be seen flitting through the house beams or celebrating the completion of a new building. [Migratory birds] know the [seasons] of the year, [the rooster] heralds the daybreak. They twitter in spring and chirp in the evening. Who knows how many there are? Although birds are not involved in human affairs, since high antiquity they have been used as titles for official ranks, and the Sage chose to use them in his similes. Sometimes [their feathers] were stuck into hats; sometimes their forms were painted on carriages and ceremonial regalia. How are they of no use in the world? Therefore, the poets who wrote the six types of poetry [in the *Book of Songs*] were very knowledgeable about the names of birds, animals, grasses, and trees, and through the four seasons of the calendar,

they recorded the times when all these flourish and fade, when they sing or are silent. This is why those who have skill at painting often lodge their inspiration in this, with the same thinking and practice as poets. It follows that flowers such as the tree peony and shrub peony and birds such as the phoenix and peacock should have an aristocratic feel, while pine, bamboo, plum, and chrysanthemum, as well as gulls, egrets, wild geese, and ducks, should manifest seclusion and ease. As for the dignity of the crane, the attack of the falcon, the graceful charm of the spreading [branches] of the willow and the paulownia, the imposing grandeur of the lofty pine, and the ancient cypress in the cold of winter, as displayed in painting, they have the ability to inspire men's minds, to contend with Creation and transform men's souls, like the experience one would get by approaching close and viewing the real thing. Those compiled here range from the Tang to this dynasty. All were famous masters, Xue [Ji] for his cranes, Guo [Qianhui] for his sparrow-hawks, and Bian Luan for his flowers, as well as Huang Quan, Xu Xi, Zhao Chang, and Cui Bai. A total of forty-six are presented here, in clear order. The details of their careers may be seen in their biographies, and their differences in skill may be discovered there. Men such as Niu Jian and Li Huaigun were also known in their day for their paintings of flowers and birds.[2] In Jian's *Hundred Sparrows* pictures, he truly captured the way they fly, call, bend over, and peck; still the ingenuity was excessive, and it rather lacked a lofty tone.[3] Huaigun applied color lightly and thinly, but he was only successful at things that were tender and fresh.

He was not up to capturing things in which the vitality was in the structure, which is why he has not been enrolled in this *Catalogue*.

## Flowers and Birds, One

Tang
- Yuanying, Prince of Teng; Xue Ji, Bian Luan, Yu Xi, Liang Guang, Xiao Yue, Diao Guang, Zhou Huang

Five Dynasties
- Hu Zhuo, Mei Xingsi, Guo Qianhui, Guo Qianyou

Yuanying, the Prince of Teng, was of the Tang royal house.[4] He was good at "the reds-and-blues" and fond of doing bees and butterflies.[5] Zhu Jingyuan once saw a draft sketch for a painting by him, and he remarked that "beyond any question of its competence or ingenuity, it was so

completely rational that I dare not assign him to any specific class."[6] The line by Wang Jian of the Tang in his "Palace Poems" that says "they copy a *Butterflies* by the Prince of Teng" is a reference to this.[7] At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Bees and Butterflies*

Xue Ji, whose style name was Sitong, was a man of Fenyin, Hedong.[8] He was the nephew of Shou.[9] As a youth, he had a creative literary talent, and he was held in high regard by those of his generation. The family collection of his maternal grandfather Wei Zheng contained a great many paintings and calligraphies. In the category of memorials to the throne, the collection was comprehensive in genuine works by Yu Shinan and Chu Suiliang. Since Ji could look at [the collection] to his heart's content, his study proceeded rapidly, and he advanced in both calligraphy and painting.[10] Though he was good at all sorts of bird-and-flower and figural subjects, he was especially skilled at painting cranes. Anyone speaking of painting cranes always praised Ji, and from this he became famous. Since many people at this time raised cranes, the appearance of cranes while flying, crying, drinking, or pecking ought to have been carefully observed, and yet there were few painters of cranes with any real skill. In general, the intensity of the red color on their crowns, the degree of blackness of their feathery cloaks, the length of their beaks, the thinness of their legs, and the height of their knees were never painted as though they had been observed from life. To distinguish the male and female of the crane and differentiate whether they are headed south or north is especially difficult, and even famous artists known for their painting skill can fail to paint correctly the way the talons of the crane touch down on the earth. For reaching the height of subtlety in these, Ji is deservedly well known, then as now. In the past, Li [Bai] and Du [Fu] were surpassing literary talents. Li Taibai wrote an "Encomium on a Painting" for a work by Ji, while Du Zimei wrote poems on Ji's cranes.[11] Both are still in circulation. If you do not know his character, read these laudatory words, for truly they do not slander him.[12] During the reign of Emperor Ruizong, Ji attained the office of Junior Guardian of the Heir Apparent and was enfeoffed as Duke of Jinguo. Biographies are found in both *Tang Histories*.[13] At present, there are seven works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Crane Pecking at Moss,* one picture
*Crane Walking with Head Turned Back,* one picture

*Cranes,* five pictures

Bian Luan was a man of Chang'an.[14] He was celebrated in his day for "the reds-and-blues." He excelled at flowers and birds and was able to capture the vitality of animals and plants. During the reign of Emperor Dezong, the state of Silla sent peacocks as tribute, which were good at dancing, so Luan was summoned to depict them. In addition to showing how they were adorned with kingfisher-green colors, he also captured the attitudes of their dancing, as though they were moving to the rhythm of the music. He also made pictures of cut-branch flowers, which demonstrated the utmost in skill. His bees and butterflies were like this, too. He was generally excellent at the application of color, like the good workman who leaves no trace of the ax in his work. But though his techniques were good, in the end he failed to gain employment, and so he traveled back and forth in the area between Zezhou and Luzhou, giving free rein to his brush suitably as the opportunity arose.[15] His paintings of the five-branch ginseng with the roots attached were extremely fine. In a recent discussion of flower painters, Mi Fu said Luan's paintings were lifelike.[16] At present, there are thirty-three works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Azaleas and Peacocks,* one picture
*Partridges and Sprouting Herbs,* one picture
*Peacocks,* one picture
*Flowering Quince and Sparrows,* one picture
*Pear Blossoms and Pigeons,* one picture
*Lily Magnolias and Pigeons,* one picture
*Golden Basin and Peacocks,* one picture
*Flowering Quince Blossoms,* one picture
*Flowers and Birds,* one picture
*Cabbage Butterflies,* two pictures
*Flowering Quince,* one picture
*Mallows,* one picture
*Birds of Prey,* one picture
*Magpie and Sparrow-Hawks,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Pigeons,* one picture[17]
*Flowering Plants and Pigeons,* one picture
*Banana Plants and Peacocks,* two pictures
*Plum Flowers,* one picture
*Cut-Branch Fruiting Plum,* one picture
*Prunus Blossoms and Wagtails,* one picture
*Peonies,* one picture

*Peonies and Silver Pheasants,* one picture
*Peonies and Peacocks,* one picture
*Pear Blossoms,* one picture
*Thousand-Petal Peach Blossoms,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Cut-Branch Flowers,* one picture
*Flowers, Bamboo, Birds, and Rocks,* two pictures
*Egrets on a Lotus Pond,* two pictures
*Pomegranates and Monkey,* one picture[18]

The hometown of Yu Xi is unknown.[19] He was good at painting flowers and birds and excelled at chickens. He thoroughly comprehended their subtleties. There are two paintings by him: *Peonies and a Pair of Chickens* and *Snowy Prunus Blossoms and a Pair of Ring-Necked Pheasants.* Since the chicken is a domestic bird, it should go with the peony, while the ring-necked pheasant, a wild bird, should go with the snowy prunus blossoms. This is utterly rational. At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Peonies and a Pair of Chickens*
*Snowy Prunus Blossoms and a Pair of Ring-Necked Pheasants*

The hometown of Liang Guang is unknown.[20] He was good at painting flowers and birds, and his name is found in [painting] catalogues and registers because he was famous for this in his day. Hence, Zheng Gu wrote a poem called "Flowering Crabapple" with this line: "Liang Guang applied 'the reds-and-blues' with deliberation."[21] Gu was famous as a poet and not one to praise men lightly, so since he acclaims his work, the quality of Guang's art may be inferred. At present, there are five works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Flowers of the Four Seasons,* one picture
*Oleander and Chinese Pear-Leaved Crabapple,* one picture
*Crabapple Blossoms,* three pictures

The hometown of Xiao Yue is unknown.[22] At that time, he held the position of Chief Musician. Everyone called him by his title, so he was referred to as Chief Musician Xiao. He was fond of painting bamboo and famous in his day for his profound grasp of the vitality of bamboo. Bai Juyi was famous in his day for poetry, and if a painting was inscribed by him, its value was multiplied. He inscribed Yue's *Bamboo* painting with a poem that said, "I looked up and suddenly saw it, and it seemed as if it weren't

painted; I inclined my ear and listened quietly, and I thought I could hear a sound."[23] Receiving praise such as this, the quality of Yue's painting may be imagined. At present, there are five works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Black Joints and Bright Jade-Green,* two pictures
*Prunus, Bamboo, and Quail,* one picture
*Wind in Bamboo,* one picture
*Bamboo Shoots,* one picture[24]

Diao Guang was a man of Chang'an.[25] At the beginning of the Tianfu era, he went to Shu. He was good at painting lake rocks, flowers and bamboo, cats and hares, and all manner of birds. Sincere in his friendships, he was friendly with all the finest gentlemen of his day, and Huang Quan and Kong Song took him as their teacher.[26] The critics considered that while Kong and his sort had "ascended to the hall," Huang was able to "enter the room."[27] What knowledgeable words! He lived past the age of eighty and never lost what he had learned. Today in the Buddhist monasteries of Shu there are murals of flowers and bamboo [he did], which are often the only original things to have survived. At present, there are twenty-four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Flowers and Birds,* five pictures
*Hibiscus and Ducks,* one picture[28]
*Wrens Followed by Their Young,* one picture
*Bees, Butterflies, and Eggplants,* one picture
*Peach Blossoms and Frolicking Cats,* one picture
*Cockscomb and Insects,* one picture
*Young Sparrows,* one picture
*Tawny Daylilies and Lilies,* one picture
*Cut-branch Flowers,* one picture
*Cats Frolicking amid Bamboo and Rocks,* two pictures
*Cats Frolicking amid Sprouting Herbs,* two pictures
*Cat and Kittens,* two pictures
*Cat and Kittens Frolicking,* one picture
*Pack of Cats,* one picture
*Cats and Bamboo,* one picture
*Beautiful Peach Blossoms,* one picture
*Kittens,* one picture

The hometown of Zhou Huang is unknown.[29] He was good at painting

rocks in water, flowers and bamboo, and wild birds, and he was successful at their subtleties. He did distant rivers and nearby islets, bamboo-lined streams and smartweed-filled banks, and the changing scenery of the four seasons. Looking at one of his pictures, the viewer feels like the gulls and egrets chasing each other between the water and the clouds. Generally those who are skilled at painting flowers and bamboo often rely on the balustrades that enclose palace buildings to create a lovely scene, but Huang simply used the sandy area at the water's edge, and for this he stood out against the staff painters of his generation. At present, there are twelve works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Lotuses and Ducks,* one picture
*Autumn Lotuses and Ducks,* two pictures
*Egrets on a Smartweed Bank,* one picture
*Hibiscus and Various Birds,* one picture
*Rocks in Water and a Pair of Birds,* one picture
*Rocks in Water and Egrets,* two pictures
*Egrets in Water,* one picture
*Autumn Pond,* one picture
*Autumn Scene with Bamboo and Rocks,* one picture
*Ducks,* one picture

The hometown of Hu Zhuo is unknown.[30] Broadly learned and capable at poetry, his personality and manner were out of the ordinary, and his mind was set on ethereal and otherworldly concerns. He once said to his younger brother, "The mood of my poetry is like being in the Three Gorges, hearing the cries of the gibbons."[31] Such were his lofty temperament and untrammeled inspiration. Whenever he encountered a scene that was difficult to describe, he committed it to painting, and so his depictions of plants and birds were made the same way as poets respond to things in their work. At present, there are six works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Flowering Quince and Variegated Crabapple,* one picture
*Cut-Branch Flowers,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Cut-Branch Flowers,* one picture
*Single-Petal Rose Blooms,* one picture
*Various Flowers,* one picture
*Peach Blossoms,* one picture

The hometown of Mei Xingsi is unknown.[32] He was a capable painter of

figures, and oxen and horses, but most skilled at chickens. For this he was famous, and everyone called him Master of Chickens Mei. He was especially skilled at fighting cocks, and the way he depicted the attitudes of the opponents—advancing proudly or waiting fearfully, their feathers bristling and necks bulging—were invariably lifelike. When he showed them drinking and pecking, at their leisure, the hens and roosters together and chicks roaming about everywhere, clucking over their food and calling to each other, their attitudes are exceedingly well evoked, completely capturing the subtleties of the "Red Kerchief," so it is only appropriate that he was renowned for this. Since the chicken is a creature of the kitchen, it was not considered noble. The men of the past said it was hard to have skill at painting dogs or horses since they are around people all the time. Chickens are also like this, which is why his paintings of fighting cocks are not without purpose. Xingsi lived from the end of the Song [sic][33] into the Five Dynasties period. His family lived in Jiangnan, and he served as a Hanlin Painter-in-Attendance for Li of the Southern Tang. His character was lofty. At present, there are forty-one works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Peonies and Chickens,* one picture
*Hollyhocks with Hen and Chicks,* three pictures
*Tawny Daylilies and Chickens,* two pictures
*Chickens,* thirteen pictures
*Chickens Followed by Their Young,* five pictures
*Hen and Chicks,* three pictures
*Ring-Necked Pheasant,* one picture
*Caged Chickens,* six pictures
*Hen Caring for Her Chicks,* one picture
*Fighting Cocks,* six pictures

Guo Qianhui was a man of Yingqiu, Beihai.[34] Everyone called him General Guo. He was good at painting plants, birds, and animals, as well as scenes of bleak and desolate open countryside. Zhong Yin was also famous at that time. [Zhong] changed his name and became his disciple [in disguise], treating him as his teacher for a long time, until he learned his brush methods.[35] Qianhui always raised birds at his home outside town. He thought deeply and reflected quietly as he concentrated on them, and when he grasped his concept, he would wield his brush. His style was mature and vigorous, and he thoroughly captured the subtleties of their nature. At present, there are one hundred and four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Bamboo Thicket, Silkworm Thorn, and Sparrow-Hawks,* two pictures
*Silkworm Thorn Branch, Magpies, and Sparrow-Hawks,* one picture
*Old Trees, Birds, and Sparrow-Hawks,* two pictures
*Ancient Trees, Hawk, and Magpies,* one picture
*Bamboo, Rocks, and Shrikes,* two pictures
*Sparrow-Hawk Clutching a Shrike,* one picture
*Bramble Thicket and Shrikes,* two pictures
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, and Various Birds,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, and Sparrow-Hawks,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, and Wild Magpies,* two pictures
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, and Chirping Magpies,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn Branch, Quail, and Sparrow-Hawks,* three pictures
*Silkworm Thorn Branch and Sparrow-Hawks,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn Grove, Magpies, and Sparrow-Hawks,* four pictures
*Silkworm Thorn Branch, Quail, and Sparrow-Hawks,* one picture
*Falcon,* one picture
*Pear Blossoms, Sparrow-Hawk, and Birds,* one picture
*Reeds, Brambles, Quail, and Sparrow-Hawks,* one picture
*Sparrow-Hawk on a Stand,* sixteen pictures
*Ring-Necked Pheasant and Quail,* one picture
*Withered Tree, Fowl, and Hawk,* four pictures
*Bamboo, Tree, Fowl, and Hawk,* two pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Quail,* one picture
*Ancient Tree and Partridges,* four pictures
*Noble Fowl and Running Hares,* two pictures
*Grey Hawk Capturing a Wildcat,* two pictures
*Magpies and Sparrow-Hawks,* four pictures
*Ancient Tree and Sparrow-Hawk,* one picture
*Birds of Prey,* one picture
*Fowl and Hawk,* six pictures
*Brambles and Hares,* two pictures
*Brambles and Quail,* one picture
*Brambles and Reeds,* one picture
*Autumn Hare,* one picture
*Brambles and Ring-necked Pheasant,* three pictures
*Chirping Birds,* one picture
*Quail and Sparrow-Hawks,* eight pictures
*Partridges and Sparrow-Hawks,* six pictures
*Grey Hawks,* one picture
*Quail,* one picture
*Chickens,* one picture
*Hawk,* one picture

*Ring-Necked Pheasant,* one picture
*Sparrow-Hawk,* one picture
*Cat,* one picture
*Falcon,* one picture
*Wild Ducks,* one picture

Guo Qianyou was a man of Qingzhou.[36] His elder brother Qianhui was famous as a painter, and although Qianyou was famed for being good at the specialty of flowers and birds, he was not as illustrious as his elder brother, even though they did the same study and their level of skill was comparable. If they absorbed the same influences, naturally they would be close. Only when paintings of falcons and birds give the viewer the sense of the attack can they be considered skillful. Thus Du Zimei was imagining this feeling of the strike when he said, "When will it strike the common birds?—blood and feathers sprinkling weeds of the plain."[37] If a painting's extraordinary skill could inspire feeling like this, how can there be no comparison of quality? As for the hawk's air of vigor and agility, if it couldn't be painted, it couldn't be conveyed in words. He was also a capable painter of cats. Although he was not a specialist, he could fully demonstrate their graceful bearing. At present, there are four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Wild Falcon,* one picture
*Autumn Brambles and Noble Fowl,* two pictures
*Cat Turning to Look at Bees,* one picture

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1. Wang Su (195–256) wrote, "There are 360 birds, and chief among them is the phoenix." See his *Kongzi jiayu* (Taipei: Taiwan Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 6.4b.

2. On Niu Jian, see Lachman, *Evaluations,* 87, and Soper, *Experiences,* 67. Niu was a Daoist adept who painted birds and thorn trees. Mi Fu, in his *Huashi,* said "his brush and ink had a crude boldness and looseness, yet it was not vulgar." See Vandier-Nicolas, *Le Houa-che de Mi Fou,* 119. On Li Huaigun, see Soper, *Experiences,* 20 and 64. He was a native of Sichuan and a student of Huang Quan.

3. Dong You said Niu Jian cannot compare to Cui Bai in cicadas and sparrows. See *Guangchuan huaba jiaozhu,* 6.425–426.

4. Li Yuanying (d. 684) was the twenty-second son of Gaozu, enfeoffed as Prince of Teng in 639, and succeeded by his grandson Zhanran. See ZGMSJRMCD, 347; Soper, *Experiences,* 74; Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue," 23; LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 438–439; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:208. For both Yuanying and Zhanran, see Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 111–116.

5. Yu Jianhua, *Xuanhe huapu,* 242n1 says the authors have apparently confused the prince with his successor Li Zhanran. See LDMHJ, ch. 10 and LDMHJQY, 521, where

Zhanran, Yuanying's grandson and successor as Prince of Teng, who was eighty-four years old in 847, the time of LDMHJ's writing, is described as being good at flowers and birds, and bees and butterflies. By contrast, Guo Ruoxu said Yuanying was good at cicadas, sparrows, flowers, and grasses. See Soper, *Experiences,* 74.

6. The Yuan edition replaces *xuan* with *yuan,* so this is Zhu Jingxuan, author of TCMHL. Zhu is actually describing Zhanran, the grandson of Yuanying and successor as Prince of Teng. See Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 208.

7. From one of Wang's (767–830) hundred "Palace Poems," which describe the events and lives of the palace inhabitants, such as the court ladies, eunuchs, and servants. This quatrain treats the boredom of those left behind when the emperor went to the summer palace to escape the heat; they occupy themselves by copying the butterfly painting. This poem is reproduced in Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 114.

8. For Xue Ji (649–713), see ZGMSJRMCD, 1463; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 85–97; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 216–217; LDMHJ, ch. 9; LDMHJQY, 485–486; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:245–247, under Hsieh Ch'i; Soper, *Experiences,* 34, 75, 83, 91, under Hsieh Chi; Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 150, 203, 209.

9. Xue Shou (591–624) was one of the famous "Eighteen Scholars" who served Li Shimin before he became Emperor Taizong of Tang. He was given a satellite burial at Zhaoling, Taizong's tomb.

10. Xue Ji was equally known as a calligrapher, one of the "Four Great Masters of Early Tang." The story of his study of the memorials by Yu Shinan (558–638) and Chu Suiliang (596–658) in the collection of his grandfather Wei Zheng (580–643) is well known. The authors may discuss his skill in calligraphy here because he is not included in *Xuanhe shupu.*

11. The Li Bai poem to which the authors refer is "Encomium for Cranes Painted at the Office of District Defender Xue at Jinxiang." This poem is not about a picture by Xue Ji, however, since Xue Ji never held this office. The assertion in TCMHL that Li and Xue met is anachronistic, since Li was just fifteen when Xue died. See Wang Bomin, *Li Bai Du Fu lun hua shi san ji* (Hangzhou: Xiling yinshe, 1983), 33. Du Fu's poems on Xue's cranes are discussed in Gregory M. Patterson, "Elegies for Empire: The Poetics of Memory in the Late Work of Du Fu (712–770)," PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 2013, 166–170. See also "Junior Guardian Xue Ji's Crane Mural on the Back of a Wall at the Office Building of Tongquan County," in Owen, trans., *Poetry of Du Fu,* 3:179–181.

12. Xue was executed for involvement in the plot of the Taiping Princess (665–713) against Emperor Xuanzong, hence the question about his character.

13. See his biographies in Liu, *Jiu Tang shu,* 73.2591; Ouyang and Song, *Xin Tang shu,* 98.3893.

14. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1513; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 308–313; LDMHJ, ch. 3, sec. 4 (Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 1:275); ch. 10 (Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:288–889); LDMHJQY, 537–538; Soper, "A Vacation Glimpse," 37; Soper, *Experiences,* 22, 77, 104; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 224, which is the basis for this entry.

15. This is the area of modern Changzhi city, Shanxi Province.

16. In his *Huashi* of 1101, Mi Fu said, "The flowers of Teng Changyou, Bian Luan, Xu Xi, and Xu Chongsi are lifelike." See Vandier-Nicolas, *Le Houa-che de Mi Fou,* 38.

17. The term I translate here as "drawing-under-color" is *xiesheng* 寫生. In the *Catalogue,* the term *xiesheng* appears to be used in two different ways. In the titles of flower paintings by masters who worked in color, I translate it as "drawing-under-

color," following the description of this technique by Shen Kuo (1031–1095), who gives it this name in a discussion of Xu Xi and Huang Quan. See Shen, *Mengxi bitan jiaozheng,* 17.555, translated in Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 126–127. Shen wrote that the flower-painters in the Huang family were skilled in the application of color and their use of the brush was so delicate that you could scarcely see the lines of ink; their pictures were finished with light washes of color, a technique known as *xiesheng.* In painting titles for artists who worked in ink, however, I find no other translation is possible except "drawn from life," especially when the biographical entry makes plain that the artist practiced sketching from life.

18. Lit., *houshu* 猴鼠 or "monkey" and "rat." If the characters were reversed, it would read "lemur," but the animals were not native to China. Perhaps *shu* is a mistake for *er* 兒, so it should be read *houer,* or "monkey."

19. See ZGMSJRMCD, 16; LDMHJ, ch. 10; LDMHJQY, 538; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:289.

20. See ZGMSJRMCD, 912; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 314–315; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 228. LDMHJ, ch. 10; LDMHJQY, 538–539; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:289.

21. This is the last quatrain in Zheng Gu's (ca. 851–ca. 910) poem, reproduced in Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 315.

22. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1412; Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 304–307; Soper, "T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu," 227; LDMHJ, ch. 10; LDMHJQY, 548; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:296–297.

23. This poem is called "Song of a Bamboo Painting." Bai met Xiao in Hangzhou in 823, and he wrote other poems about Xiao's work as well. See LDMHJQY, 548n1, and Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 305–307.

24. Li Kan (1245–1320) said, in his treatise on bamboo, that he had obtained this picture, which he called "a former Xuanhe object." See *Zhupu xianglu,* reproduced in Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 307.

25. The artist's name was actually Diao Guangyin (act. ca. 901–ca. 930s), but the authors avoid the character *yin* 胤 as part of the taboo on the personal name of the first Song emperor, Zhao Kuangyin. Under Diao Guangyin, see ZGMSJRMCD, 10; Soper, *Experiences,* 20, 21, 26, 34, 36; Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 161.

26. Kong Song was a famous bird-and-flower painter during the Later Shu dynasty. See ZGMSJRMCD, 26; Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 177–178; Soper, *Experiences,* 35–36. The entry for Huang Quan is in chapter 16.

27. Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 161.

28. The term for ducks here and throughout is *xichi,* which Yue Ren says is a waterfowl that looks like a mandarin duck but is a bit larger, with a russet hue. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 321n8.

29. See ZGMSJRMCD, 494.

30. See ZGMSJRMCD, 632; Soper, *Experiences,* 27–28.

31. Guo Ruoxu says he wrote a prose-poem on this subject. See Soper, *Experiences,* 28.

32. See ZGMSJRMCD, 903–904; THJWZ gives his personal name as Xingsi or Zaisi; see Soper, *Experiences,* 30; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 84.

33. This should read Tang.

34. See ZGMSJRMCD, 953; Soper, *Experiences,* 30; Liu, *Wudai minghua buyi,* 109.

35. Entry for Zhong Yin is in chapter 16. This anecdote is told more fully in THJWZ, under Zhong Yin. See Soper, *Experiences,* 30.

36. Qingzhou is an alternate name for Yingqiu, Beihai. See ZGMSJRMCD, 953.
37. Du Fu, "Painted Hawk," Owen, trans., *Poetry of Du Fu,* 1:13.

# Chapter Sixteen

## Flowers and Birds, Two

Five Dynasties
Zhong Yin, Huang Quan, Huang Jubao, Teng Changyou
Song Dynasty
Zonghan, Xiaoying, Zhongquan, Zhongxian, Shitian, Shilei, Lady Cao

Zhong Yin was a man of Tiantai.[1] He was good at painting birds of prey, thorny trees, and brambles. He was able to utilize light and dark tones of ink to distinguish front and back. At first, he wanted to take Guo Qianhui as his teacher. Knowing that Qianhui guarded his techniques and did not impart them to others, Yin changed his name and lived and worked in his home, willingly obeying and serving him. Even after a long time, Qianhui was still not aware it was him. Yin secretly studied his paintings and grasped them in his mind. One day, in high spirits, he painted a sparrow-hawk on the wall. When Qianhui learned of it, he hastened to view it, and could not stop his astonished admiration. He said, "Sir, are you not Zhong Yin?" From then on, he treated him well and explained his painting methods to him in detail, and as a consequence, [Yin] became quite famous. Oh! All craftsmen who are devoted to their skills desire to fully grasp their subtleties, yet if they achieve their techniques through hardship conditions, and if they remain stead-fast and do not shrink back, how much more so will they enter the Way? Yin lived in Jiangnan, so most of his paintings were held by Li Yu, the pretender of [Southern] Tang. Yu

inscribed and impressed seals on all of them and kept them in his Archives. In Mi Fu's recent discussion of painting, he talked about a "Zhongyin," which was the sobriquet in reclusion of Li of Southern Tang, meaning simply "The Recluse [*yin*] of Mount Zhong."[2] It was definitely not Zhong Yin. This clarified that issue. At present, there are seventy-one works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Wintry Reeds, Quail, and Sparrow-Hawks,* two pictures
*Ancient Trees, Fowl, and Falcon,* three pictures
*Hunting Dog Chasing Hares,* two pictures
*Bramble Thicket and Wintry Quail,* one picture
*Autumn Islet, Quail, and Sparrow-Hawks,* two pictures
*Bramble Thicket and Shrikes,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn Trunk, Quail, and Sparrow-Hawk,* one picture
*Frosty Grove, Quail, and Sparrow-Hawk,* four pictures
*Silkworm Thorn Branch, Sparrow-Hawk, and Magpies,* one picture
*Brambles, Hares, and Shrikes,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn Branch and a Pair of Birds,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn Branch and Mountain Magpies,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn Branch and Shrikes,* one picture
*Roaming Immortals amid Pines and Rocks,* two pictures[3]
*Sparrow-Hawk with Bamboo and Rocks,* two pictures
*Ancient Tree with Bamboo Tips,* one picture
*Sparrow-Hawk and Shrikes,* one picture
*Jujube Brambles, Quail, and Sparrow-Hawk,* one picture
*Hawk on a Stand,* two pictures
*Hare and Her Young,* one picture
*Bamboo, Rocks, and Small Hares,* one picture
*Fowl and Hawk,* four pictures
*Tame Ring-Necked Pheasant,* two pictures
*Gathering of Birds,* one picture
*Wagtails,* one picture
*Sparrow-Hawk on a Stand,* one picture
*Chirping Birds,* two pictures
*Pair of Birds,* four pictures
*Sparrow-Hawk on a Stand,* three pictures
*Hawk and Hare,* one picture
*Leaping Hare,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn and Sparrows,* one picture
*Quail and Sparrow-Hawk,* four pictures
*Bamboo and Hare,* one picture
*Bird of Prey,* one picture

*Sparrow-Hawks in Flight,* one picture
*Sparrow-Hawk,* two pictures
*Pair of Sparrow-Hawks,* two pictures
*Silkworm Thorn and Magpies,* one picture
*Hare Looking over Its Shoulder,* one picture
*Small Hare,* one picture
*Autumn Hare,* one picture
*Brambles and Sparrows,* one picture
*Falcon,* one picture
*Ancient Tree and Sparrow-Hawks,* one picture

Huang Quan, who had the style name Yaoshu, was a man of Chengdu.[4] He gained fame in his day at an early age for his skill at painting. At seventeen *sui,* he served as Painter-in-Attendance to Wang Yan, last ruler of Shu.[5] Under Meng Chang, he served as Acting Director of the Imperial Manufactories and then became Assistant Commissioner of the Capital.[6] The last lord Yan once summoned Quan into the palace to look at a *Zhong Kui* by Wu Daoyuan.[7] Then he said to Quan, "In this *Zhong Kui* painted by Wu Daoyuan, he has him using the second finger of the right hand to gouge out the demon's eye, but it would be better if it were the thumb, so it would look more forceful." He ordered Quan to fix it and bring it back. Quan, however, did not work on Daoyuan's version, but made a separate painting, in which the thumb was used to gouge out the eye, and presented that. The last lord found it peculiar that he did not follow the order. Quan replied, saying, "In Daoyuan's painting, the eyes and attention are all focused on the second finger. In what your servant has just painted, the eyes and attention are all focused on the thumb." The last lord comprehended him and appreciated that Quan had not foolishly repainted the original. Quan took the best from all the masters and combined them in his work. In flowers and bamboo, he studied with Teng Changyou, for birds he studied with Diao Guang[yin], in landscape he studied with Li Sheng, for cranes he studied Xue Ji, and for dragons, he studied Sun Yu.[8] Yet the brushwork from his study was full of boldness and profound richness, and having stripped off the conventions [of their styles], he surpassed them all by far. Just as people praise Du Zimei's poetry and Han Tuizhi's prose as not having a character without an antecedent, Quan's paintings combined the successes of all the styles. Hence, he was better than the men of old and without a successor. Now he has achieved complete success at painting. His landscapes of open country, with their secluded birds and various animals, creek banks and river islets, and fishermen in skiffs by old trees, all attained the height of skill. In the *guichou* year of the Guangzheng era, he painted a wild ring-

necked pheasant in the Eight Trigrams Hall.[9] When the Five Cages officer was presenting a hawk in the audience chamber, the hawk mistakenly thought the pheasant was alive and struck at its shoulder several times.[10] At the time, Meng Chang, the ruler of Shu, exclaimed over how extraordinary this was.[11] Mei Yaochen once wrote a poem on a painting by Quan called *White Hawk,* in which he said:

> The painting master Huang Quan came from western Shu,
> So naturally Lord Fan of Chengdu knew him.
> Fan said Huang Quan's painting brush would not dare take liberties,
> So it was only right he raised hawks and kites to observe them for his painting.

From this we can see the extent to which Quan's intentions were realized. His paintings always captured the postures and attitudes of living things, so how could they slavishly follow old things from the past? Lord Fan was Fan Zhen, Duke of Shujun.[12] Zhen was also a man of Shu, which is why he knew about Quan in such detail. [Huang's] sons Jubao and Jucai followed the family specialization in painting. At present, there are three hundred forty-nine works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Peach Blossom and Young Sparrows,* one picture
*Oleander and Ducks,* one picture
*Oleander and Lake Rocks,* two pictures
*Oleander and Golden Pheasant,* two pictures
*Flowering Crabapple and Pigeons,* one picture
*Flowering Crabapple and Parrots,* one picture
*Peonies and Pigeons,* seven pictures
*Peonies,* two pictures
*Mountain Rocks and Peonies,* one picture
*Peonies and Cranes,* two pictures
*Shrub Peonies and Pigeons,* one picture
*Auspicious Shrub Peonies,* one picture
*Shrub Peonies and Orioles,* one picture
*Shrub Peonies and Turtledoves,* two pictures
*Orioles amid Amaranth,* one picture
*Peonies and Frolicking Cats,* three pictures
*Spring Dragon Emerging from Hibernation,* one picture
*Pear Blossoms and Mynas,* one picture
*Summer Embankment and Young Oxen,* one picture
*Summer Mountains,* two pictures

*Autumn Mountains with Poetic Intent,* four pictures
*Lotuses and Egret,* one picture
*Hibiscus and Ducks,* three pictures
*Autumn Pond and Ducks,* four pictures
*Rocks in Water and Egrets,* one picture
*Hibiscus and Turtledoves,* one picture
*Hibiscus and Pair of Birds,* three pictures
*Tawny Daylilies and Wild Ring-Necked Pheasants,* three pictures
*Bamboo Shoots and Ring-Necked Pheasant,* one picture
*Tawny Daylilies and Mountain Partridges,* one picture
*Prince's-Feather and Ducks,* one picture
*Reed Catkins and Ducks,* two pictures
*Ducks Frolicking in Water,* one picture
*Bamboo, Rocks, and Turtledoves,* two pictures
*Bamboo, Rocks, and Orioles,* one picture
*Flowers, Rocks, and Golden Pheasant,* one picture
*Auspicious Flourishing Lotus, Drawn from Life,* one picture
*Azaleas and Hoopoes,* one picture
*Bamboo Shoots and Bamboo Jade Green,* two pictures
*Hibiscus and Egrets,* one picture
*Frosty Grove, Fowl, and Geese,* two pictures
*Lake Shore and Egrets in Mist,* two pictures
*Sprouting Herbs and a Pair of Sparrows,* one picture
*Lake Shore and Water Rocks,* three pictures
*Lake Tai Rocks and Peonies,* one picture
*Frolicking Cats, Peach, and Rocks,* one picture
*Bamboo-Covered Embankment and a Pair of Egrets,* one picture
*Bamboo Shoots, Quail, and Sparrows,* one picture
*Bamboo Shoots and Young Sparrows,* one picture
*Snowy Bamboo and Striped Birds,* two pictures
*Snowy Bamboo and Pair of Birds,* two pictures
*Snowy Bamboo and Turtledoves,* one picture
*Snowy Bamboo and Golden Pheasant,* two pictures
*Snowy Bamboo and Pair of Ring-Necked Pheasants,* one picture
*Birds in Snow and Pair of Ring-Necked Pheasants,* two pictures
*Flowers and Birds in Snow,* two pictures
*Snowy Bamboo and Mountain Partridges,* two pictures
*Sparrows and Mandarin Ducks in Snow,* one picture
*Chirping Sparrows in Snow,* one picture
*Quail in Snow,* one picture
*Sparrows Pecking a Tree in Snow,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn and Sparrows in Snow,* one picture

*Sparrows and Hare in Snow,* one picture
*Snowy Mountains,* two pictures
*Nesting Birds in Snow,* one picture
*Birds in Snow,* two pictures
*Ring-Necked Pheasants in Snow,* two pictures
*Sparrows in Snow,* four pictures
*Hares in Snow,* four pictures
*Wintry Egrets,* one picture
*Wintry Birds,* one picture
*Bamboo, Rocks, and Mandarin Ducks,* one picture
*Bamboo and Cranes,* three pictures
*Six Cranes,* two pictures[13]
*Pair of Cranes,* one picture
*Solitary Crane,* one picture
*Crane Preening Its Tail-Feathers,* one picture
*Crane in Water beneath Red Banana Plant,* two pictures
*Camellia, Quail, and Sparrows,* one picture
*Wintry Chrysanthemums and Cuckoos,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Golden Pheasant,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Various Birds,* one picture
*Azaleas and Wild Goose,* one picture
*Azaleas and Golden Pheasant,* three pictures
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, and Wrens,* one picture
*Azaleas and Partridges,* one picture
*Bees, Butterflies, Flowers, and Birds,* one picture
*Clouds Emerging Mid-mountain,* two pictures
*Sparrow-Hawk and Quail,* one picture
*Agate Basin and Pigeons,* one picture
*Branches of Shrub Peonies,* one picture
*Cat Preying on Sparrows,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn Branch and Wrens,* one picture
*Cat Stalking Sparrows,* one picture
*Sparrows and Their Young,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Partridges,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, Sparrows, and Butterflies,* one picture
*Ducks, Bamboo, and Swallows,* one picture
*Bamboo, Rocks, and a Variegated Parrot,* one picture
*Partridges, Sparrow-Hawks, and Shrikes,* one picture
*Landscape with Poetic Intent,* five pictures
*Falcon on a Stand,* three pictures
*Horned Falcon on a Stand,* two pictures
*Black Eagle on a Stand,* one picture

*Quail and Sparrows in Snow,* one picture
*Bamboo, Rocks, and a Pair of Birds,* two pictures
*Reed Catkins and Ducks,* two pictures
*Rocks in Water and a Pair of Egrets,* two pictures
*Camellia and Snowy Sparrows,* two pictures
*Silver Partridges,* two pictures
*Tethered Falcon on a Stand,* one picture
*Black Eagle,* two pictures
*Fowl and Falcon,* five pictures
*Variegated Crabapple,* one picture
*Autumn Egret,* one picture
*Old Crane,* one picture
*Sparrows and Ducks,* one picture
*Hawks and Hares,* three pictures
*Deer with Flowers in Its Mouth,* one picture
*Eagle and Fox,* one picture
*Pair of Egrets,* one picture
*Bamboo, Rocks, and Wintry Egrets,* three pictures
*Water Birds,* three pictures
*Partridges,* one picture
*Wild Ring-Necked Pheasants,* three pictures
*Cicadas and Butterflies,* one picture
*Cut-Branch Flowers,* one picture
*Falcon,* one picture
*Turtledoves and Sparrows,* one picture
*Horned Falcon,* two pictures
*White Dove,* one picture
*Silver Hawk,* one picture
*Birds and Sparrows,* one picture
*Quail,* one picture
*Roosting Sparrows,* one picture
*Wild Quail,* one picture
*Chickens,* one picture
*Eagle,* two pictures
*Cuckoo,* one picture
*Autumn Ducks,* one picture
*Bamboo and Ducks,* two pictures
*Bamboo and Sparrows,* three pictures
*Golden Pheasant,* one picture
*Silver Falcon,* one picture
*Pigeons,* three pictures
*Tethered Falcon,* one picture

*The Three Purities,* three icons
*Star Gods,* two icons
*Longevity Star,* three icons
*Emperor of the South [Celestial] Pole and Long Life,* one icon[14]
Sketch-copy of *Ten Perfected Ones,* one icon
*Longevity Star in Autumn Mountains,* one picture
*Perfected Officer,* one icon
*Buddha Emerging from the Mountains,* one icon
*Guanyin Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Self-Abiding Guanyin,* two icons
*Ge Hong Moving House,* two pictures
*Collating Texts,* two pictures
*Figures Collating Texts,* one picture
*Yuan An Lying on the Snow,* three pictures[15]
*Zhuangzi and Huizi Looking at the Fish,* two pictures[16]
*The Immortal Changshou,* one picture[17]
*The Seven Talents,* one picture
*Mountain-Searching Lokapāla,* one icon[18]
*Dwelling in the Mountains,* one picture
*Spring Mountains,* seven pictures
*Spring Sun on Clustered Mountains,* two pictures
*Autumn Cliffs,* two pictures
*Autumn Embankment, Leaping Hares,* two pictures
*Landscape in Autumn,* two pictures
*Clouds, Water, Autumn Mountains,* four pictures
*Bamboo and Rocks,* four pictures
*Bamboo and Reeds,* one picture
*Auspicious White Hare, Drawn from Life,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Tortoise,* three pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Yellow Chrysanthemums,* one picture[19]
*Drawing-under-Color Turtle,* one picture
Sketch-copy of *Master Zhong Kui,* one picture
*Court Ladies with Jade Girdle Ornaments,* one picture
*Mountain Rocks, Cats, and Dogs,* one picture
*Bamboo, Rocks, and Small Cat,* one picture
*Small Green Frogs and Frolicking Cats,* one picture
*Sprouting Herbs and Small Hare,* one picture
*Frolicking Cat and Kittens,* one picture
*Sprouting Herbs and Hoopoes,* one picture
*Fishing amid Mountains and Streams,* one picture
*Dragons Emerging from an Embankment,* one picture
*Clouds and Dragons,* one picture

*Hunting Dog,* one picture
*Brook with Rocks,* one picture
*Mounted Riders,* one picture
*Ink Bamboo,* one picture
*Cloudy Mountains,* two pictures
*Leaping Dog,* one picture
*Ascending Dragon,* one picture
*Drunken Immortal,* one picture
*Returning to the Mountains,* one picture
*Turtle Emerging from Water,* one picture
*Tiantai,* one picture
*Thatched Hut,* two pictures
*Dragons Leaping in Water,* one picture
*Peaches and Rocks,* one picture
*Cat and Kittens,* one picture
*Herders Returning Home,* one picture
*Streams and Rocks,* one picture
*Grasses and Insects,* one picture
*Covered Plank-Roads,* one picture
*Mountain Bridges,* one picture
*Cat Eating Fish,* one picture
*Pair of Deer,* one picture
*Yellow Chrysanthemums,* two pictures
*Cats,* one picture
*Cats and Dogs,* one picture
*Lingzhi,* one picture
*Lake Tai Rocks, Crabapple, and Sparrow-Hawk,* one picture
*Bamboo in Wind on a Lakeshore, in Ink Monochrome,* three pictures
Copy of Li Sixun's *Treading Brocade,* three pictures[20]
*Perfected Lord Xu Ascending to Immortality with his Household,* one picture[21]
*Oleander, Crabapple, and Golden Pheasant,* two pictures
*Bamboo and Rocks in a Bronze Basin with Pigeons,* three pictures
Copy of Xue Ji's *Pair of Cranes,* one picture
*Pigeons and Their Young, Sparrows, and Bamboo,* one picture

Huang Jubao, who had the style name Ciyu, was a man of Chengdu.[22] He was the second son of Quan. He participated in the family tradition of excellence in skill at painting. He was also fond of writing characters and was renowned in his day for his *bafen* script. Together with his father Quan, he served the ruler of Shu as Painter-in-Attendance. He later was transferred to the post of Vice Director of the Bureau of Waterways and

Irrigation. Since calligraphy and painting stem from a single source, scripts with the traces of insects, fish, and birds are all types of painting.[23] From the tadpole script onward, calligraphy and painting became distinct, yet on the ritual vessels of the Xia and Shang dynasties, one can still see the models [of seal script].[24] Fittingly, Jubao was famous for calligraphy and painting. At present, there are forty-one works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Bamboo Embankment and Mandarin Ducks,* one picture
*Oleander and Pigeons,* one picture
*Apricot Blossoms and Hoopoes,* two pictures
*Peonies, Cats, and Sparrows,* one picture
*Peonies and Lake Tai Rocks,* one picture
*Variegated Crabapple, Bamboo, and Cranes,* two pictures
*Azaleas and Golden Pheasants,* one picture
*Red Banana Plant and Mountain Magpies,* one picture
*Cut-branch Hibiscus,* one picture
*Sparrows, Bamboo, and a Pair of Wild Ducks,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, and Mountain Partridges,* one picture
*Bamboo Shoots, Rocks and Pair of Cranes,* one picture
*Bamboo Shoots and Lake Rocks,* one picture
*Dwelling in the Mountains, Clearing after Snow,* one picture
*Landscape in Dense Snow,* one picture
*Mountain Rocks and Small Birds,* one picture
*Oleander Blossoms,* one picture
*Peonies and a Pair of Cranes,* two pictures
*Lotus Blossoms and Egrets,* one picture
*Horned Falcon on a Stand,* one picture
*Bronze Bill on a Stand,* one picture[25]
*Falcon on a Stand,* one picture
*Hare in Snow,* one picture
*Spring Mountains,* two pictures
*A Thousand Springs,* one picture[26]
*Autumn River,* one picture
*Walking Crane Turning Its Head,* one picture
*Crane Preening Its Tail-feathers,* one picture
*Bamboo and Crane,* one picture
*Double Screen,* one picture
*Pair of Cranes,* one picture
*Kittens,* one picture
*Wintry Chrysanthemums,* one picture
*Bamboo and Rocks in a Bronze Basin with Playful Doves,* three pictures

*Oleander Blossoms and Parrots,* one picture

Teng Changyou, whose style name was Shenghua, was originally a man of Wujun.[27] Later, he traveled to western [Si]chuan and thereby became a man of Shu.[28] He occupied himself in literary studies and never married or held office. His aspirations and interests were lofty and unsullied, for he had done away with the attitudes of the time, and choosing to dwell in a place of seclusion, he grew flowers, bamboo, medlars, and chrysanthemums in order to observe the life cycles of these plants, so he could lodge his mind in them. After a long while, he grasped their form-likeness in his work. Subsequently, when he painted flowers, birds, cicadas, and butterflies, he had increased his skill with these creatures, for he had grasped the whole category [of living creatures] through the one example [of plant life]. Hence he was never a specialist in the style of any teacher. Later he also gained fame for painting geese, and he had a particular excellence in hibiscus and fennel. He also modeled fruits in the dry lacquer technique and painted them the appropriate colors, so they had a lifelike appearance. His paintings of cicadas, butterflies, and crickets were known as "dots and strokes." His paintings of cut-branch flowers and fruit were known as "reds-and-blues." This is how they were distinguished. To the end, Changyou was a recluse who spent his life at leisure and carefree in this world. Thus he lived to the age of eighty-five *sui,* and as he aged, his brush continued to gain vigor and strength, for what he had was in his heart. At present, there are sixty-five works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Peonies and Sleeping Geese,* two pictures
*Hibiscus and Sleeping Geese,* one picture
*Hibiscus and a Pair of Quail,* one picture
*Hibiscus and a Pair of Birds,* one picture
*Cotton Rose and Wagtails,* one picture
*Hibiscus and Cats,* one picture
*Cotton Rose Blossoms and Geese,* two pictures
*Cotton Rose Blossoms and Ducks,* two pictures
*Maternal Bamboo and Hibiscus,* one picture[29]
*Cicadas, Butterflies, and Hibiscus,* one picture
*Hibiscus and Water Birds,* one picture
*Lake Rocks and Peonies,* one picture
*Turtles, Cranes, and Peonies,* four pictures
*Waxwings and Peonies,* one picture
*Fennel and Sleeping Goose,* one picture

*Ducks,* one picture
*Bamboo Thicket and Lilies,* one picture
*Ancient Tree and a Pair of Sparrow-Hawks,* one picture
*Bitter Bamboo and Mountain Partridges,* one picture
*Fennel and Frolicking Cats,* one picture
*Camellia and House Wrens,* one picture
*Reclining Branch of Hibiscus,* one picture
*Sprouting Herbs and Geese,* one picture
*Fennel and Geese,* one picture
*Goose Preening Its Tail-feathers,* one picture
*Geese at Water's Edge,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Flowering Branch,* two pictures
*Oleander and Pear Blossoms,* one picture
*Lilies and Water Birds,* one picture
*Fish Weaving through Bamboo,* five pictures
*Fish Frolicking in Smartweed,* one picture
*Bamboo Branches and Morning Glory,* one picture
*Prunus Blossoms and Geese,* two pictures
*Fish Frolicking in the Water,* one picture
*Cotton Rose,* three pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Hibiscus,* two pictures
*Bamboo and Crane,* one picture
*Domestic Geese,* one picture
*Hibiscus Blossoms,* two pictures
*Peonies,* one picture
*Tawny Daylilies and Hares,* one picture
*Pear Blossoms and Turtles,* two pictures
*Prunus Blossoms,* one picture
*Wintry Chrysanthemums,* one picture
*Bitter Bamboo and Cotton Rose,* one picture
*Geese,* three pictures

Zonghan, Prince Presumptive of Pu, had the style name Xianfu.[30] A great-grandson of Emperor Taizong, he was the youngest son of the Prince of Pu, "Peaceful and Admirable."[31] Zonghan was broadly learned and cultured, all of it brought together harmoniously. No one ever saw him display the arrogant airs of an aristocrat nor was he ever lost in the pleasures of music or the hunt. Rather, he practiced poetry and calligraphy and observed proper decorum. Whenever he was not occupied, he took great pleasure in "the reds-and-blues." Many times he submitted his paintings to the throne, and each time he was given rewards and encouragement. He once did *Eight Wild Geese,* in which the atmosphere

and tone were lonely and sparse, with the wild, remote feel of rivers and lakes. Connoisseurs said he was not inferior to the ancients.[32] He held the offices of Military Commissioner for the Qin-Ning Army, Surveillance and Supervisory Commissioner in charge of Yanzhou, Acting Defender-in-chief, Commander Unequalled in Honor, Supervisor of the Chief Office of Imperial Clan Affairs, and Supervisor of the School for the Imperial Family, and was Prince Presumptive of Pu. He was granted the posthumous office of Grand Preceptor, posthumous enfeoffment as Prince of Jing, and the epithet of "Filial and Simple." At present, there are eight works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Ink-Wash Lotuses,* one picture
*Ink-Wash Blooming Smartweed,* one picture
*Small Scene of Flourishing Lotuses,* one picture
*Flourishing Lotuses and Nesting Wild Geese,* one picture
*Prince's-Feather, Reeds, and Wild Geese,* two pictures
*Nesting Wild Geese on Clustered Islets,* two pictures

Xiaoying of the royal house, whose style name is Shichun, is the eighth son of the Prince of Wei, "Upright and Erudite."[33] In addition to his literary writing, he is also good at painting flowers and birds, and whenever he is at leisure in his princely establishment, he strips off his rich garb and expresses his inspiration in "whites-and-blacks," in which he shows considerable imagination.[34] Whatever he saw on a pond or from a garden kiosk, he considered worthy imagery. As for depicting the scenery amid lakes and marshes, he captured that in his imagination, grasping it as though he had witnessed it directly. This is something the average person finds difficult, but because of his unflagging love of learning, his ability at art was also heightened. In the eleventh month of the inaugural year of the Xuanhe era,[35] when the emperor offered the winter sacrifice to Heaven on the round altar, during the previous two days he spent living in Daqing Hall, among the royal family members who stayed to attend to him in the hall of the Court of the Imperial Clan in the imperial city was Xiaoying. [Emperor Huizong] once gave him a *Wagtails* he had painted, in response to a painting lesson work he had submitted to the throne. This was also done to express the feeling of closeness between these brother poets and was truly a special mark of favor. Xiaoying currently holds the position of Military Commissioner of the Deqing Army. At present, there are twenty-two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Flowers and Birds of the Four Seasons,* one picture
*Ink-Wash Flowers and Birds,* one picture
*Ink-Wash Pair of Birds,* one picture
*Harmonious Sounds of Ducks,* one picture
*Lotus Bank and Frolicking Geese,* one picture
*Lotus Pond and Water Birds,* one picture
*Fish Glimpsed amid Verdant Green,* one picture
*Sunlit Water, Rare Birds,* one picture
*Autumn Bank and a Pair of Egrets,* one picture
*Smartweed Embankment and Wagtails,* one picture
*Prince's-Feather and Wagtails,* one picture
*Snowy Islet and Nesting Wild Geese,* two pictures
*Water Birds, Flowers, and Fruit,* one picture
*Bamboo in Snow and a Five-Colored [Bird],* one picture
*Applied-Color Flowers and Birds,* one picture
*Applied-Color Birds and Fruit,* one picture
*Tawny Daylilies and Siberian Rubythroat,* one picture
*Small Scene,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Flowers,* one picture
*Wish for Long Life with the Four Pure Ones,* one picture[36]
*Flowering Quince and Black-Headed White Cheek,* one picture

The imperial relative Zhongquan, whose style name was Yinfu, was a great-great-grandson of Taizong.[37] Zhongquan was bright and quick, with no addictions save for his love of the literature of the men of the Han and Jin dynasties. An accomplished judge of character, he was proficient in argumentation, and though his teachers were great classical scholars, they all praised his progress. His poetry was plain and easy, and he imitated the style of Bai Juyi. He was never lost in rich garb or the hunt, but was single-mindedly intent on literature and the arts. When he came to scenes that are difficult to describe, he lodged his inspiration in "the reds-and-blues," so that there was poetry in his painting, and his paintings of plants and birds all had the imagination of the poet. This is nothing the clever craft of a staff painter could achieve, so how could he be called merely an elegantly mannered young aristocrat? He held the positions of Surveillance Commissioner in charge of Runzhou, Commissioned with Special Powers in charge of all military affairs in Runzhou, and Prefect of Runzhou, with the posthumous post of Commander Unequalled in Honor, posthumous enfeoffment as Duke of Heguo, and the epithet "Intelligent and Filial." At present, there are fourteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Apricot Blossoms and Willow Catkins,* one picture
*Autumn Lotus and Egrets,* one picture
*Smartweed Embankment and Egrets,* one picture
*Hollyhocks, Falcon, and Swallows,* one picture
*Mallows, Bamboo, Flying Squirrels, and Ducks,* one picture
*Bamboo Shoots and Southern Turtledoves,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Various Birds,* four pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Peonies,* one picture
*Young Oxen,* one picture
*Magpies and Bamboo,* two pictures

Zhongxian of the royal house had the style name Cundao.[38] Since he grew up in the palace, his thoughts were never sullied by the vulgar world. He loved painting very much and never stopped, whether it was freezing or broiling. He made progress over a long time, and because he had naturally grasped in his heart the progress he had made, everything he passed by, he thought about how to put it into painting. Every year in the blooming season, in all the cities, the government officials who owned gardens would always allow people to tour and view them. With wine in hand, Zhongxian would go on this outing, enjoying himself, entirely without pretensions, carefree amid the tourists. He carried brushes and "whites-and-blacks" with him, and when inspiration arose, seeing a high screen or a white wall, he would make pictures in accord with his ideas, all of which had a delightful charm. Anyone who sought a painting from him would get no reply. He once painted a *Mandarin Ducks on a Riverbank* in the garden kiosk at the home of Wang Xian, the governor of Huayang Commandery, which he completed in an instant. When he applied the colors, he only embellished it with pale tones. Viewers passing by never failed to appreciate it. A poem appended at the end said:

Done sleeping, mandarin ducks are about to fly.
Two or three branches of flowering lotus lie against the shore.
A romantic young man feels inspired
to depict the warm sun of a spring day on the river.

Such was the praise people gave him! His posts were Deputy Military and Surveillance Commissioner of the Baoan Army and Commander Unequalled in Honor. He was posthumously enfeoffed as Duke of Rongguo, with the epithet of "Harmonious and Intelligent." At present, there are seven works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Apricot Blossoms Reflecting on Water,* one picture
*Flying Egrets Frolicking under Clearing Skies,* one picture
*Wild Geese at Dawn on a Snowy Day,* one picture
*Verdant Bamboo, Fresh and Cool,* one picture
*The Five Guests on a Bright Spring Day,* one picture[39]
*Bamboo Islet, Water Birds,* two pictures

Shitian of the royal house is good at painting wintry forests and sunny riverbanks, capturing the forms of clouds and mist, light and shadow, as though one had ascended to a high place to view the scene, looking into an expanse of open space, which shows considerable imagination.[40] In the past, Su Shunqin wrote the lines:

Sparrows in winter twitter, filling the bamboo branches.
A light breeze, a pattering, as jade blossoms fly.[41]

Now Shitian's painting *Sparrows in Winter Fear the Snow* is like this. His *Bamboo and Rocks* and the others are also comparable. His official position is Gentleman for Military Tallies.[42] At present, there are five works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Misty Riverbank, Hidden Birds,* one picture
*Sparrows in Winter Fear the Snow,* one picture
*Wintry Forest,* one picture
*Sunny Riverbank,* one picture
*Bamboo and Rocks,* one picture

Shilei of the royal house gained fame in his day for "the reds-and-blues."[43] He did wild geese, ducks, gulls, and egrets on streams, ponds, sandbanks, and islets, all with the imagination of the poet. The most successful achievements in his paintings were the things that are usually difficult to put into form. His flowers and bamboo were often shown amid wind-blown snow and barren cold. His heart was already washed clean of the habits of those in rich garb, so he could plumb an elegant mood of reclusion. His artworks are incomparably better than those of artisan painters. His official post is Military Commissioner of Xiangzhou. At present, there are fifty-one works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Early Blooms on a Spring Embankment,* one picture
*Gulls and Egrets on a Peach Blossom Stream,* one picture
*Wild Geese Descending on a Spring River,* one picture

*Pair of Egrets on a Sunny Spring Day,* one picture
*Peach Blossom Stream,* one picture
*Warm Waters and Frolicking Geese,* one picture
*Spring River, Small Scene,* one picture
*Spring Embankment,* one picture
*Flock of Wild Ducks on a Lotus Pond,* one picture
*Gathering of Birds on a Flowery Stream,* one picture
*Frolicking Geese on a Summer Pond,* one picture
*Wild Ducks and Egrets on a Summer Stream,* one picture
*Clearing over the River in Early Summer,* one picture
*Gathering of Birds in Summer,* one picture
*Rare Birds on a Summer River,* one picture
*Ducks on a Willow Bank,* one picture
*Pair of Birds on a Lotus Pond,* one picture
*A Stream in Summer,* one picture
*Autumn Embankment, River Birds,* one picture
*Autumn Reeds, Flock of Wild Geese,* one picture
*Autumn Islet,* one picture
*Riverbank in Early Autumn,* one picture
*Early Autumn River,* one picture
*Smartweed Embankment and Wandering Birds,* one picture
*Smartweed Embankment and Flock of Wild Ducks,* one picture
*Gathering of Birds on a Reedy Islet,* one picture
*Autumn Grasses,* one picture
*Wintry River, Snowy Embankment,* one picture
*Wintry River, Prunus in Snow,* one picture
*Wintry Riverbank, Wild Geese in Snow,* one picture
*Snowy Riverbank, Flock of Wild Geese,* one picture
*Wintry Riverbank, Pair of Egrets,* one picture
*Coven of Crows in Snowy Woods,* two pictures
*Wintry Riverbank, Hundred Wild Geese,* one picture
*Snowy Stream,* one picture
*Prunus Riverbank, Wild Geese Descending,* one picture
*The Five Guests Flocking Together,* one picture
*Wintry Forest, Wild Geese in Snow,* one picture
*Clearing View over the Wu River of the Xiang,* one picture[44]
*Pines, Stream, Gathering of Birds,* one picture
*Mallows,* one picture
*Wild Geese in Snow,* one picture
*Frolicking Ducks,* one picture
*Limpid River,* two pictures
*Small Scene along the Xiang River,* one picture[45]

*Willow River,* one picture
*Willow Stream,* one picture
*Embankment in Verdure,* one picture
*Islands in Verdure,* one picture

Lady Cao, a wife of a royal clansman, was very good at "the reds-and-blues."[46] Her painting was never tender, sweet, and charming, in order to be ingratiating to women. Truly it was as though she had gone on a viewing excursion, and the beautiful scenery she saw amid rivers and lakes, mountains and streams, was gathered into the tip of her brush. Her pictures, *Peach Blossom Stream* and *Smartweed Bank,* are very skillful. A colophon says:

The literary talent of "the poetic description of snow" was commended as uniquely elegant;[47]
Who could produce anything finer than the palindrome weaving?
How could one of phoenix beauty and two lovely hands
paint this *Peach Blossom Stream* and *Smartweed Bank?*

This makes her fame evident, yet not many of her paintings circulated. Can it be easy for wives and daughters to be able to engage [in painting]? At present, there are five works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Peach Blossom Stream,* one picture
*Willow Pond,* one picture
*Smartweed Bank,* one picture
*Wild Geese in Snow,* one picture
*Herding Sheep,* one picture

1. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1478; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 47–51; Soper, *Experiences,* 30; Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue," 30–31; Liu, *Wudai minghua buyi,* 109.

2. Mi Fu wrote: "'The White Lotus Layman of Jinfeng,' also called the 'Recluse of Zhongfeng' and 'Hermit of Zhongfeng'—these are all names that Li Chongguang [Li Yu] used to sign his paintings. They all just mean 'Recluse of Mount Zhong.' On all his own works, he signed 'Brush of the Recluse of Zhong' [*Zhong yin bi*]." See Mi Fu, *Huashi,* in *Songren hualun,* 53, and Vandier-Nicolas, *Le Houa-che de Mi Fou,* 128.

3. Probably these "immortals" are cranes.

4. He lived from 903 to 968. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1155–1156; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 105–133; Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue," 30; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 32–34, 63, 80–82 (under figures, landscapes and birds and

flowers); Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 150–158; Soper, *Experiences,* 20–21, 22, 26, 32, 33–34, 35, 61–62, 63, 75, 91, 99, 100, 103, 104; Shen Kuo, *Mengxi bitan,* in Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 126–127; Richard M. Barnhart, "Huang Ch'üan," in Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies,* 2:50–55.

5. Wang Yan (r. 918–925) was the last ruler of Former Shu.

6. Meng Chang (r. 934–965) was the last ruler of Later Shu.

7. This anecdote is traceable to the lost work by Jing Huan called *Yeren xianhua* (965), transcribed in *Taiping guangji,* 214.6a–b. It is also repeated, without attribution, in THJWZ. See Soper, *Experiences,* 100.

8. Sun Yu is Sun Wei, whose entry is in chapter 2.

9. This was 953. Guangzheng was the reign period of Meng Chang of Later Shu, 938–965.

10. The Five Cages were in charge of the animals for the royal hunt: eagles, hawks, sparrow-hawks, falcons, and dogs.

11. According to the version of this story told in *Yizhou minghua lu* and SCMHP, as a result, Meng ordered Ouyang Jiong (896–971) to compose "A Record of the Singular Event Regarding the Murals in the Hall of the Eight Trigrams." See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 80, and Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 151–152.

12. This discussion of the Huang family raising birds to study for painting and the conversation between Mei Yaochen and Fan Zhen (1007–1087) about it appears in chapter 4 of Fan's *Dongzhai jishi,* written after his retirement around 1078–1086. Reproduced in Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 125. The book was banned by Emperor Huizong in 1102 because of Fan's vehement opposition to Wang Anshi's policies. For Fan's biography, see Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 373.10783–10793.

13. A description of the imagery of a *Six Cranes* picture by Huang Quan is given in THJWZ. See Soper, *Experiences,* 75.

14. This is how *Nanji laoren* is translated by Stephen Little, in Kohn, ed., *Daoism Handbook,* 729.

15. When Yuan An (d. 92 CE) was a young man, there was a great snowfall in Luoyang that caused many people to beg for food. As the governor was locking up his office and clearing snow from his door, he discovered An lying there, stiff with cold. An pleaded with him to keep the people from starvation. THJWZ has a long entry about an anonymous set of eight scrolls illustrating this topic in the Song imperial collection, which Emperor Zhenzong bestowed on Ding Wei. See Soper, *Experiences,* 92.

16. An illustration of the famous anecdote in chapter 17 of *Zhuangzi* where Zhuangzi and Huizi are looking at the fish in the Hao River and arguing about whether they could know what the fish enjoy. See Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 188–189.

17. This is one of the Eight Immortals of Shu, Fan Changsheng, who was said to have lived as a Daoist recluse in the Qingcheng Mountains in the third century. See Mi, ed., *Tuhua jianwen zhi; Huaji,* 246n17.

18. According to Carmelita Hinton, this deity is more than likely Vaiśravana. See her "Evil Dragon, Golden Rodent, Sleek Hound: The Evolution of *Soushan Tu* Paintings in the Northern Song Period," in *The Zoomorphic Imagination in Chinese Art and Culture,* ed. Jerome Silbergeld and Eugene Y. Wang (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 184–192.

19. Lit., "bits of gold."

20. A picture of this name is listed for Li Sixun in chapter 10.

21. According to tradition, Xu Xun (239–374), a Daoist who attained the age of 136, ascended into immortality along with his entire household. See his biography, excerpted from the anonymous Tang text, "Biographies of the Twelve Perfected Lords," in *Taiping guangji,* 14.4a–7b.

22. Jubao died in Shu and never served Song. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1145; Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 165–168; Soper, *Experiences,* 20, 34, 99; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 34.

23. From Zhang Yanyuan's "On the Origins of Painting," in Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 64. These decorative types of seal script were used in antiquity. A good example is the *hu* vessel from the tomb of the Han-dynasty prince Liu Sheng, on which the inscribed characters bear small bird heads. See François Louis, "Written Ornament, Ornamental Writing: Birdscript of the Early Han Dynasty and the Art of Enchanting," *Ars Orientalis* 33 (2003):11–31.

24. "Tadpole script" is used in *Xuanhe shupu* to mean ancient scripts generally. See Gui, ed., *Xuanhe shupu,* 27n2.

25. Egrets, so named for their sharp, hard bills.

26. Perhaps synonymous with "everlasting spring," i.e., roses.

27. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1345; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 95–98; Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 132, 191–192; Soper, *Experiences,* 20, 36.

28. When the court of Emperor Xizong of the Tang fled to Shu in 881.

29. A type of bamboo where the new shoots and old stems support each other, suggesting the mother and child relationship.

30. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1281; Vandier-Nicolas, *Le Houa-che de Mi Fou,* 76. Emperor Huizong specially favored Zhao Zonghan (d. 1109) with a visit to his mansion and upgraded the offices of his sons and grandsons. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 245.8713.

31. This was the posthumous title and epithet of Zhao Yunrang (995–1059). Since Yunrang was the biological father of Emperor Yingzong, Zonghan was also the brother of the emperor, but since this had caused so much controversy, perhaps the authors simply avoided the reference.

32. This appears to be an elaboration of the simple statement found in Deng Chun's *Huaji* and in the dynastic history: "He once did *Eight Wild Geese,* and people praised his skill." See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 245.8713 and Deng Chun, *Huaji,* 2.276.

33. Zhao Xiaoying was probably born around 1084–1085 and was living at the time the *Catalogue* was written. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1278; Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 246.8722. His father, Prince Jun, and his mother, née Wang, each have entries in chapter 20 as painters of ink bamboo.

34. Literally, "powdered white and ink," which are painting pigments, hence a synecdoche for painting in colors.

35. This would be December of 1119 in the Western calendar.

36. Although Yue Ren (*Xuanhe huapu,* 342n12) thinks this is a picture of four lofty gentlemen (Wang Xizhi, Xuanyuan Miming and Lu Hong of the Tang, and Lin Bu, the Song poet), given that Xiaoying was a flower painter, I suspect this is a picture of four elegant plants offered on a holiday, such as the New Year or Double Ninth, perhaps prunus, orchid, bamboo, and chrysanthemum.

37. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1275. A grandson of Zhao Yunrang, nephew of Zhao Zonghan, and son of Zhao Zongpu. *Song shi* agrees generally with these titles (Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 245.8711), but adds Commandery Prince of Huayuan (229.7210). Zhongquan was the biological nephew of Emperor Yingzong. Zongpu was very close to the emperor, his biological brother (245.8711).

38. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1276.

39. The “five guests” are the crane, peacock, parrot, silver pheasant, and egret. Guo Ruoxu discussed a “Picture of the Five Guests.” See Soper, *Experiences,* 92.

40. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1269. This name is not found in the table of the royal family in *Song shi.*

41. “Jade blossoms” is a metaphor for snowflakes. This is the opening couplet of a quatrain called “Small Drink,” about appreciating a winter day. With a slight variation, it is found in Su Shunqin (1008–1048), *Su Shunqin ji,* ed. Shen Wenzhuo (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1961), 8.105.

42. This title was created in 1112; see Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 1503. It is not clear if Shitian was alive in 1120.

43. It is not clear if he is alive at the time of writing. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1269. Deng Chun, writing in 1167, said he was a landscape painter and that the *Archives Painting List* registered a *Spring Snow, Early Prunus* and a *Small Scene.* See Deng, *Huaji,* 2.275–276. In the table of Song royal family members, he is listed as Duke of Rongguo, with the posthumous epithet of “Good.” See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 224.6603.

44. Wu River is a tributary of the Xiang River, near modern Qiyang, Hunan Province, according to Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 347n8.

45. A picture with this title is reproduced in color in Foong, *Efficacious Landscape,* fig. 42, where it is called “Intimate Scene of the Countryside by Xiang River.” It is a handscroll in ink and color on silk, now held in the Palace Museum, Beijing, which depicts near and far riverbanks with waterfowl.

46. Yu Jianhua identifies her as Cao Zhongwan in ZGMSJRMCD, 893–894. In Yang Wangxiu’s notes on the Southern Song imperial collection in 1199, she is called “Lady Cao, a wife of a royal clansman,” and her picture, *Smartweed Bank,* is listed under “landscape.” See Yang, *Song Zhongxing guange chucang hua ji,* 213.

47. Xie An asked his niece, Xie Daoyun (second half of 4th c.), to liken the snow to something, and she responded with “It is like willow catkins floating in the breeze,” which pleased him. See her biography in Fang, *Jin shu,* 96.2516–2517.

# Chapter Seventeen

## Flowers and Birds, Three

Song Dynasty

Li Yu, Huang Jucai, Qiu Qingyu, Xu Xi, Xu Chongsi, Xu Chongju, Tang Xiya, Tang Zhongzuo

The Jiangnan pretender, Li Yu, had the style name Chongguang.[1] In his leisure from government affairs, he lodged his mind in "the reds-and-blues," at which he was quite successful. Since he called himself the Recluse of Zhong Peak [Zhongfeng yinju] and simplified that to Zhongyin, later people confused his paintings with those of Zhong Yin.[2] Li was capable in literature and good at calligraphy and painting. His calligraphy was done with the "trembling brush," so it had bends in it, yet it was firm like pines in winter or bamboo in frost. It was called "gold-inlaid knife."[3] His painting was also pure and uncommon, for which he had a separate style. Yet calligraphy and painting do share the same forms. Hence, Tang Xiya first studied Li's "gold-inlaid knife" style, so when he painted bamboo later, using that calligraphic style to paint them, they had that struggling, dragging look. Li was also good at painting ink bamboo, in which he brought the two together. Though few of his paintings circulated, by analogy, we might imagine [his ability]. As for his painting *Wind [Follows] the Tiger, Clouds [Follow] the Dragon,* which has as its theme the ability and sagacity of the hegemon, it is quite different from what he ordinarily painted.[4] By no means did he deliberately intend this message, yet his aspiration could not help but be conveyed, even though

it turned out contrary to his expectations. Had he not submitted to our Song dynasty and brought his territory into the fold, who could have restrained him? At present, there are nine works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Self-Abiding Guanyin,* one icon
*Wind [Follows] the Tiger, Clouds [Follow] the Dragon,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, and a Pair of Birds,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn Branch and Wintry Birds,* one picture
*Autumn Branch Cloaked in Frost,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Quail,* one picture
*Bamboo and Birds,* one picture
*Brambles and Sparrows,* one picture
*Bamboo in Color,* one picture

Huang Jucai, whose style name was Boluan, was a man of Shu.[5] He was the youngest son of Quan. Quan gained fame from painting, and Jucai was a worthy successor. He painted flowers, bamboo, and feathered creatures, and he had the skill to attain a natural appearance. When he depicted strange rocks and mountain vistas, he was often considerably better than his father. Viewers contended to purchase his paintings, only fearing they might come too late, which is why so many people owned them. At first, he served Meng Chang, the pretender of Western Shu, as a Hanlin Painter-in-Attendance, for whom he painted murals and screens in incalculable numbers. He then followed the pretender in submitting [to the Song] and since the Cultured Ancestor was aware of his fame, he was granted a true mandate.[6] Emperor Taizong had a special regard for him and instructed him to search out famous paintings, determine their quality, and rank them. The colleagues of his day all respected him. The painting method of Quan and Jucai was taken as the standard at the Painting Academy from the time of [Tai]zu and [Tai] zong onward, so that artists were judged according to their ability in the Huang style. With the advent of Cui Bai, Cui Que, and Wu Yuanyu, however, this standard changed radically. At present, there are three hundred thirty-two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Spring Mountains,* six pictures
*Spring Embankment, Floating Flowers,* two pictures
*Bamboo, Rocks, and Spring Birds,* one picture
*Oleander Blossoms,* two pictures
*Oleander and Partridges,* two pictures

*Peach Blossom, Bamboo, and Ducks,* three pictures
*Apricot Blossom and Parrots,* one picture
*Peach Blossom and Pigeons,* one picture
*Peach Blossom and a Tethered Hawk,* two pictures
*Oleander and Wild Sparrow-Hawks,* one picture
*Peach Blossom and Wrens,* two pictures
*Flowering Crabapple and Golden Pheasant,* two pictures
*Flowering Crabapple, Bamboo, and Cranes,* two pictures
*Flowering Crabapple and Domestic Doves,* two pictures
*Flowering Crabapple and Partridges,* two pictures
*Flowering Crabapple and Parrots,* one picture
*Oleander and Flowering Crabapple,* one picture
*Bamboo Shoots and Golden Pheasant,* one picture
*Peonies,* three pictures
*Peonies, Sparrows, and Cats,* two pictures
*Peonies and Parrot,* one picture
*Peonies, Bamboo, and Cranes,* six pictures
*Peonies and Golden Pheasants,* five pictures
*Peonies and Partridges,* four pictures
*Peonies and Pigeons,* eight pictures
*Peonies and Orioles,* two pictures
*Peonies, Sparrows, and Doves,* one picture
*Cats Frolicking amid Peonies,* three pictures
*Bees, Butterflies, and Frolicking Cats,* one picture
*Shrub Peonies,* one picture
*Tawny Daylilies and Ducks,* two pictures
*Frolicking Butterflies and Cats,* one picture
*Mallows and Golden Pheasant,* one picture
*Oleander and Bronze Bills,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Black Bamboo,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Hollyhocks in Bloom,* three pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Ducks,* one picture
*Bamboo, Cranes, and Lake Rocks,* two pictures
*Bamboo, Rocks, and a Dark Falcon,* three pictures
*Bamboo, Rocks, and a Pair of Cranes,* two pictures
*Bamboo, Rocks, and Mottled Turtledoves,* one picture
*Bamboo, Rocks, and Small Birds,* one picture
*Bamboo, Rocks, and Partridges,* three pictures
*Bamboo, Rocks, and Young Sparrows,* one picture
*Bamboo, Rocks, and Ring-Necked Pheasant,* one picture
*Bamboo, Rocks, Cats, and Sparrows,* one picture
*Bamboo and Rocks,* four pictures

*Bamboo, Rocks, and Orioles,* one picture
*Bamboo, Rocks, and White Hawk,* three pictures
*Bamboo, Rocks, and Cats,* one picture
*Water Rocks and Ducks,* two pictures
*Water Rocks and Egrets,* three pictures
*Ducks Frolicking in Water,* one picture
*Young Sparrows and Ducks,* one picture
*Ducks,* one picture
*Bamboo Shoots, Sparrows, and Hare,* one picture
*Sparrows and Bamboo,* one picture
*Sparrows, Bamboo, and Ducks,* two pictures
*Bamboo and Cranes,* twenty-one pictures
*Bamboo Shoots,* one picture
*Landscape with Poetic Intent,* one picture
*Bamboo and Birds,* one picture
*Magnolia and Lake Rocks,* one picture
*Lakeshore Bamboo in Ink,* one picture
*Bamboo Shoots and Ducks,* two pictures
*Ducks Followed by Their Young,* one picture
*Parrots,* one picture[7]
*Lakeshore Mist and Birds,* two pictures
*Sprouting Herbs,* one picture
*Various Birds,* one picture
*Cut-Branch Flowers,* one picture
*Various Flowers,* four pictures
*Cat and Kittens,* one picture
*Bamboo, Bamboo Shoots, and Young Sparrows,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Cats,* one picture
*Cat Catching Sparrows,* one picture
*Lotus Pond and Ducks,* one picture
*Mounted Hunters,* two pictures
*Azaleas and a Pair of Ring-necked Pheasants,* one picture
*Azaleas and a Pair of Pigeons,* four pictures
*Azaleas and Partridges,* one picture
*Azaleas and Tartar Pheasants,* one picture
*Variegated Crabapple, Bamboo, and Cranes,* two pictures
Copy of *Court Women,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Basin Pond,* one picture[8]
*Drawing-under-Color Turtles,* one picture
*An Auspicious Hare, Drawn from Life,* one picture
*White Egret Catching Fish,* one picture
*Egrets in a Landscape,* two pictures

*Stream, Rocks, and a Pair of Egrets,* two pictures
*Pair of Egrets Catching Fish,* one picture
*Cranes and Azaleas,* one picture
*Egrets Fishing,* one picture
*Egrets,* two pictures
*Partridge, Brambles, and Sparrows,* one picture[9]
*Ancient Tree and Partridges,* one picture
*Brambles and Sparrows,* one picture
*Birds of Prey and a Fox in Its Hollow,* three pictures
*Six Cranes,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn, Brambles, and Birds,* one picture
*Long-Lived Pine and Pair of Cranes,* one picture
*Pair of Cranes,* two pictures
*Hawk on a Stand,* six pictures
*Tethered Hawk,* four pictures
*Sparrow-Hawk on a Stand,* one picture
*Parrot on a Stand,* one picture
*Hawk and Fox,* two pictures
*Fowl and Hawk,* three pictures
*Black Eagle,* six pictures
*Silver Falcon,* two pictures
*Eagle and Fox,* twelve pictures
*Graceful Birds Following an Egret,* one picture
*Shoreline Rocks and Willow Catkins,* two pictures
*Yellow Chrysanthemums,* one picture
*Peach Blossom and Hawk,* one picture
*Autumn Scene with Hibiscus,* eight pictures
*Hibiscus and Egrets,* two pictures
*Hibiscus and Ducks,* one picture
*Hibiscus and a Pair of Egrets,* one picture
*Cotton Rose,* four pictures
*Kingfisher Hibiscus,* one picture
*Lakeshore with Egrets,* one picture
*Egrets and Hawk,* four pictures
*Red Plantain and Lake Rocks,* one picture
*Prince's-Feather, Egrets, and Hawk,* three pictures
*Cockscomb,* one picture
*Birds of Prey under a Clear Autumn Sky,* three pictures
*Autumn Mountains,* one picture
*Autumn Embankment,* three pictures
*Autumn Birds,* three pictures
*Wintry Chrysanthemums and Egrets,* one picture

*Wintry Chrysanthemums and Ducks,* two pictures
*Reeds and Chrysanthemums,* one picture
*Wintry Chrysanthemums and Wrens,* one picture
*Wintry Chrysanthemums and a Pair of Egrets,* two pictures
*Wintry Chrysanthemums,* one picture
*Bamboo in Snow and Wrens,* two pictures
*Sparrows in Snow,* five pictures
*Snow Scene with Wrens,* one picture
*Egrets and Wintry Sparrows in Snow,* one picture
*Camellias and Hare in Snow,* one picture
*Camellias and Sparrows in Snow,* one picture
*Birds in Snow,* two pictures
*Hares in Snow,* two pictures
*Bamboo and Ring-Necked Pheasant in Snow,* two pictures
Tracing Copy of *Seventy-Two Worthies,* one picture[10]
*Water Moon Guanyin,* one icon
*Self-Abiding Guanyin,* one icon
*Talented Scholar in a Wintry Forest,* one picture
*Ink Bamboo, Rocks, and Crane,* one picture
*Sprouting Herbs and Trailing Young Quail,* one picture
*Bamboo Shoots in Summer,* three pictures
*Lake Rocks with Peonies,* five pictures
*Palaces for Avoiding the Heat at Shanyin,* two pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Wei Blossoms in a Golden Vase,* one picture[11]
*Lake Rocks in a Bronze Basin, and Pigeons,* one picture
*Peonies in a Bronze Basin, and Partridges,* two pictures[12]
*Peonies, Lake Tai Rocks, and Sparrows,* two pictures
*Peonies and Orioles in a Breeze,* one picture
*Small Scene with Bamboo, Rocks, and Water Birds,* one picture
*Water Rocks, Partridges, and Egrets,* three pictures
*Reed Catkins, Wintry Chrysanthemums, and Egrets,* four pictures

Qiu Qingyu was originally a man of Western Shu.[13] He was the son of Wenbo.[14] Good at painting, he was particularly skilled at flowers, bamboo, and feathered creatures, and he excelled at grasses and insects. In general, his pictures in color were close to the animals and plants [represented]. As for his grasses and insects, where he used only ink tonalities to create highlights, he attained marvels of form-likeness. His graceful style and lofty elegance were praised in his generation. At first, he took Teng Changyou as his teacher, but in his later years he came to surpass him. People said that in his most successful passages he was not inferior to Xu Xi. Because he served the Jiangnan pretender, Li, he later

followed Li in submitting to the court. At present, there are forty-three works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Oleander Blossoms,* one picture
*Lake Rocks and Flowering Crabapple,* one picture
*Tawny Daylilies,* one picture
*Flowers and Birds of the Four Seasons,* four pictures
*Bamboo, Trees, and the Five Birds,* one picture[15]
*Chinese Rose and Turtle,* one picture
*Chinese Rose and Cat,* one picture
*Bamboo, Rocks, and Frolicking Cats,* one picture
*Prunus Blossoms and Hoopoe,* one picture
*Cut-Branch Flowers,* one picture
*Mallows, Bamboo, and Crane,* one picture
*Morning Glory and Oleander,* one picture
*Camellia Blooms and Hares,* two pictures
*Cut-Branch Hibiscus,* two pictures
*Hibiscus, Birds, and Hares,* one picture
*Hibiscus and Partridges,* two pictures
*Apes, Sparrows, and Hibiscus,* one picture
*Autumn Reeds and Wild Geese,* three pictures
*Lake Rocks and Camellias,* one picture
*Camellias and Ducks,* one picture
*Snowy Prunus and Camellias,* one picture
*Ancient Tree and a Pair of Hares,* one picture
*Walnut and Apes,* one picture
*Brambles, Sparrows, and Hares in Frost,* one picture
*Cock,* one picture
*Wild Geese,* two pictures
*Hawk and Ducks,* one picture
*Bamboo and Birds,* one picture
*Cotton Rose,* four pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Flowers,* one picture
*Wintry Chrysanthemums,* one picture

Xu Xi was a man of Jinling.[16] For generations his clan had been eminent in Jiangnan. As he valued the lofty elegance of lodging his inspiration at leisure, his paintings of grasses, trees, insects and fish all rivaled Creation, and they were nothing the depictions of the artisan-painters of his day could reach. He often roamed about in his vegetable garden, and each scene he encountered he depicted at once. This is why he was able to

convey the look of things with an abundant feeling of life. His shoots, husks, flowers, and fruit, like the attitudes of the fishes' mouths at the surface of the water at the Hao River dam and the appearance of the crowded stems [of bamboo in the gardens] of the Lianchang Palace, succeeded in exhausting the marvels of the True Ruler's turning of the potter's wheel, as the four seasons revolve, unbidden. When the Jiangnan pretender Li Yu first submitted, all of Xi's paintings that he had collected went into the state treasury.[17] Flower painters today will usually complete [their work] simply by using gradations of color. Xi alone would work with ink to render the branches, leaves, pistils, and petals, and after that add his colors.[18] Consequently, in structure, atmosphere, style, and spirit, he is the supreme master of all time. Critics who compared Xi alongside Huang Quan and Zhao Chang scarcely understood him. Quan's painting was inspired but not subtle, while Chang's was subtle but not inspired. The only one who could combine the two and rise above these two artists was Xi. Mei Yaochen was famous as a poet and was a discriminating viewer. In his poems that extol Xi's paintings such as his *Oleander Blossoms,* he wrote:

> Flowers harbor bees and butterflies, bamboo holds birds;
> In the third month, in Jiangnan, one's gaze is insatiable.
> When Xu Xi lowers his brush, he draws close to reality;
> When he is done painting on the silken paper, there are six panels!

He also wrote:

> After years have passed, the white pigment flakes off, revealing the traces of the ink;
> Only then can you understand how astonishing his skill at delineation was.

And one final stanza said this:

> Bamboo is truly like bamboo, and peach is like peach.
> Without waiting for Spring to give them life, they grow before one's eyes.[19]

This gives us an idea of Xi's skill at painting. Xi's grandsons Chongsi and Chongxun also carried on his tradition capably. At present, there are two hundred forty-nine works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Roses,* one picture[20]
*Cut-Branch Red Apricot,* one picture
*Apricot Blossom and Flowering Crabapple,* one picture
*Flowering Crabapple,* two pictures
*Cut-Branch Double-Flowering Apricot,* one picture
*Cut-Branch Flowering Crabapple,* one picture
*Peach Blossom,* two pictures
*Flowering Crabapple and Bronze Bills,* two pictures[21]
*Drawing-under-Color Flowering Crabapple,* one picture
*Oleander and Flowering Crabapple,* two pictures
*Flowering Crabapple Reflected in Water,* one picture
*Chinese Pear-Leaved Crabapple and Ruby Peach,* one picture
*Azaleas and Flowering Crabapple,* two pictures
*Double Branch of Flowering Chinese Pear-Leaved Crabapple,* one picture
*Flowering Crabapple and Pear Blossom,* one picture
*Flowering Crabapple and a Myna,* one picture
*Oleander and Partridges,* three pictures
*Pear Blossoms and Flowering Quince Blossom,* one picture
*Peach and Apricot Blossoms,* two pictures
*Birds and Flowers in a Waterside Grove,* one picture
*Red Birchleaf Pear Blossom,* one picture
*Cut-Branch Pear Blossom,* three picture
*Chinese Pear-Leaved Crabapple,* five pictures
*Flowers to Deck Out a Hall: Peach Blossom,* one picture[22]
*Flowers to Deck Out a Hall: Flowering Crabapple,* one picture
*Flowers to Deck Out a Hall: Azaleas,* two pictures
*Flowers to Deck Out a Hall: Cut-branch Flowers,* one picture
*Peonies,* thirteen pictures
*Peonies and Pear Blossoms,* one picture
*Peonies and Apricot Blossoms,* one picture
*Peonies and Flowering Crabapple,* one picture
*Peonies and Partridges,* two pictures
*Peonies and Frolicking Cats,* one picture
*Peonies and Pigeons,* two pictures
*Peonies and Swimming Fish,* two pictures
*Peonies and Lake Rocks,* four pictures
*Red Peonies,* one picture
*Cut-Branch Peonies,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Peonies,* two pictures
*Auspicious Peonies, Drawn from Life,* one picture
*Peonies and Peach Blossom,* one picture
*Peonies and Peach Blossoms,* three pictures

*Peonies Blown by the Wind,* two pictures
*Bees, Butterflies, and Peonies,* one picture
*Peonies and Shrub Peonies,* one picture
*Shrub Peonies and Apricot Blossom,* one picture
*Shrub Peonies,* nine pictures
*Lake Rocks and Shrub Peonies,* three pictures
*Bees, Butterflies, and Shrub Peonies,* one picture
*Shrub Peonies and Peach Blossom,* one picture
*Flowering Quince Blossoms,* eight pictures
*Green Plum,* one picture
*Falling Flowers and Swimming Fish,* one picture
*Auspicious Lotus,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Flowers in a Jar,* one picture
*Cut-branch Flowers,* four pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Cut-branch Flowers,* five pictures
*Thousand-petal White Lotus,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Flowers and Fruit,* two pictures
*Flowers in a Porcelain Jar, Drawn from Life,* two pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Vegetables,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Birds and Fruit,* one picture
*Weigela, Bees, and Butterflies,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Garden Vegetables,* two pictures
*Rosa rugosa,* one picture
*Fruit Arranged in a Kingfisher Vase,* one picture
*Verdant Bamboo in Solitary Splendor,* one picture
*Red Single-Petal Wild Roses,* one picture
*Scarlet Cherries,* one picture
*Loquats,* one picture
*Cicadas, Butterflies, and Pigeons,* one picture
*Bees, Butterflies, and Frolicking Cats,* one picture
*Sprouting Herbs and Frolicking Butterflies,* one picture
*Prunus, Bamboo, and a Pair of Birds,* one picture
*Cicadas, Butterflies, and Eggplants,* one picture
*Red Roses,* one picture
*Young Pigeons and Sprouting Herbs,* one picture
*Amaranth and Frolicking Cats,* one picture
*Mandarin Fish Frolicking in Floating-Heart,* one picture
*Fish Swimming in Water Grasses and Floating-Heart,* one picture
*Fish Weaving through Floating-Heart,* one picture
*Hen and Chicks,* one picture
*Sparrows and Their Young,* one picture
*Small Scene with Wild Ducks,* one picture

*Embroidered Raised Flowers,* one picture
*The Shao[ping] Garden,* one picture[23]
*Fish and Aquatic Grasses,* one picture
*Pairs of Birds,* six pictures
*Nesting Birds,* three pictures
*Golden Apricot,* one picture
*Flowers and Ducks,* one picture
*Cicadas and Butterflies,* one picture
*Sprouting Herbs,* one picture
*Variegated Crabapple,* two pictures
*Autumn Fragrant Grasses,* one picture
*Eggplant Bush,* one picture
*Eggplants,* one picture
*Frolicking Cats,* three pictures
*Vegetables,* one picture
*Lily Magnolia,* one picture
*Fish and Shrimp,* one picture
*Swimming Fish,* six pictures
*Wagtails,* one picture
*Leaves of Bamboo Shoots and Bamboo,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Hibiscus,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Onions and Eggplants,* one picture
*Flowering Quince and Young Turtledoves,* one picture
*Yellow Mallows,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Crickets,* one picture
*Eggplants and Crickets,* one picture
*Red Shrub Peonies, Rocks, and Pigeons,* two pictures
*Bamboo, Tree, and Autumn Falcon,* one picture
*Lake Rocks and Lilies,* one picture
*Smartweed Bank, Turtles, and Crabs,* one picture
*Grasses and Insects,* two pictures[24]
*Decaying Lotus and Autumn Egrets,* one picture
*Mallows,* one picture
*Nesting Wild Geese,* one picture
*Ancient Tree and Partridges,* two pictures
*Ancient Tree, Partridges, and Sparrow-Hawk,* one picture
*Ancient Tree and Roosting Birds,* one picture
*Pair of Birds,* one picture
*The Five Birds,* one picture
*The Six Birds,* one picture
*The Eight Birds,* one picture
*Wintry Chrysanthemum and Chinese Rose,* one picture

*Pair of Ducks,* two pictures
*Evening Scene of a Wintry Pond,* two pictures
*Pair of Egrets in Wintry Reeds,* three pictures
*Ducks and Egrets on a Snowy Pond,* three pictures
*Nesting Birds in Dense Snow,* three pictures
*Nesting Birds on a Snowy Bank,* two pictures
*Nesting Birds in a Snowy Prunus,* one picture
*Pair of Ducks in Wintry Reeds,* two pictures
*Reeds and Ducks,* two pictures
*Various Birds,* one picture
*Bamboo in Snow,* three pictures
*Bamboo and Wrens in Snow,* one picture
*Birds Gathered in a Snowy Prunus,* two pictures
*Birds in Snow,* three pictures
*Wild Geese in Snow,* five pictures
*Pair of Birds in Snow at Dusk,* two pictures
*Fruit,* one picture
*Fish Swimming in Floating-Heart,* one picture
*Willow Catkins,* one picture
*Cicadas, Butterflies, and Weigela Cut-Branch,* one picture

Xu Chongsi was a grandson of Xi.[25] He excelled at grasses, trees, birds, and fish, which were mainly in the family style. At such things as silkworm cocoons, which were rarely painted, Chongsi was quite capable. There are also few who are able to do fruit fallen to the ground. Chongsi also loved to make tracing copies, which demonstrates his breadth of study. Examination of all the catalogues shows that his paintings were always aristocratic pictures, mostly showing peonies, flowering crabapple, oleander, cicadas, butterflies, double-petal apricot, and shrub peonies. What he lacked were "hills and streams." If he had been able to lay out such a composition, it would have been entirely successful. At present, there are one hundred forty-two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Fragrance of Spring,* two pictures
*Peach Blossom Stream,* two pictures
*Peach Blossom, Bamboo, and Water Fowl,* three pictures
*Oleander and Sparrows,* three pictures
*Double-Flowering Peach Dipping into Water,* three pictures
*Cut-Branch Double-flowered Apricot,* one picture
*Peach Blossoms in a Jade Vase,* one picture
*Flowering Crabapple and Peach Blossom,* one picture

*Double-Flowering Apricot,* one picture
*Red Apricot,* two pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Peach,* one picture
*Birds Gathering in Flowering Crabapple,* two pictures
*Flowering Crabapple and Swimming Fish,* two pictures
*"Boneless" Flowering Crabapple,* one picture[26]
*Drawing-under-Color Flowering Crabapple,* one picture
*Swimming Fish,* three pictures
*Frolicking Fish,* two pictures
*Peonies,* five pictures
*Thousand-Petal Peach Blossom,* one picture
*Peonies and Pigeons,* one picture
*Peonies and Turtledoves,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Peonies,* one picture
*Flourishing Peonies,* one picture
*Peonies and Shrub Peonies,* one picture
*Shrub Peonies and Frolicking Cats,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Shrub Peonies,* two pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Cut-branch Flowers,* two pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Mallows,* one picture
*Cut-branch Various Fruits,* one picture
*Prunus, Bamboo, and Wrens,* two pictures
*Shrub Peonies,* one picture
*Thicket of Bamboo at Stream's Edge,* three pictures
*Oleander Flowers,* one picture
*Azaleas,* one picture
*Bees, Butterflies, and Peonies,* one picture
*Pear Blossom,* two pictures
*Summer Mallows,* one picture
*Cicadas, Butterflies, Flowers, and Birds,* one picture
*Golden Pheasant and Azaleas,* two pictures
*Water Fowl,* one picture
*Hollyhocks and Turtledoves,* one picture
*Yellow Mallows,* one picture
*Variegated Crabapple,* two pictures
*Flowering Quince,* two pictures
*Cut-Branch Flowering Quince,* one picture
*Bees, Butterflies, and Eggplants,* one picture
*Sprouting Herbs and Pigeons,* one picture
*Cicadas, Butterflies, and Sprouting Herbs,* one picture
*Sprouting Herbs and Crickets,* one picture
*Sprouting Herbs and Wagtails,* one picture

*Sprouting Herbs and Eggplant,* four pictures
*Sprouting Herbs,* one picture
*Cicadas, Butterflies, and Eggplant,* one picture
*Cicadas, Butterflies, and Wagtails,* one picture
*Wild Quail and Sprouting Herbs,* one picture
*Eggplant and Mottled Turtledoves,* two pictures
*Eggplants and Crickets,* one picture
*Birds of Prey in a Bamboo Thicket,* three pictures
*Lily Magnolia and a Pair of Swallows,* one picture
*Fruiting Crabapple and Water Fowl,* one picture[27]
*Eggplants,* two pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Eggplants,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Gourds,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Vegetables,* two pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Cockscomb,* three pictures
*Eggplants and Mice,* one picture
*Wild Ducks on a Sandbar,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Fruit,* four pictures
*Cut-Branch Fruit,* three pictures
*Clearing over the River, Small Scene,* one picture
*Fish Weaving through Bamboo,* one picture
*Bamboo Shoots and a Pair of Hares,* one picture
*Sparrows and Bamboo,* two pictures
*The Four Birds,* two pictures
*Hibiscus,* two pictures
*Pair of Wild Ducks,* two pictures
*Eight Ducks,* two pictures
*White Hare,* one picture
*Reeds and Ducks,* two pictures
*Pair of Ducks,* one picture
*Pair of Magpies,* one picture
*Flock of Egrets,* two pictures
*Willow Catkins,* one picture
*Wintry Ducks,* two pictures
*Flowering Grasses and Frolicking Cats,* one picture
*Nesting Birds on a Snowy Riverbank,* three pictures
*Bamboo and Pair of Birds in Snow,* one picture
*Nesting Birds on a Snowy River,* one picture

Xu Chongju was a man of Zhongling.[28] He was a grandson of Xi. Chongsi and Chongxun were his older and younger brothers. He successfully continued the family style in his painting. Xi's paintings of flowers,

bamboo, birds, fish, cicadas, butterflies, vegetables, and fruit rivaled Creation, and those who studied with him were not able to "peep through the fence." Chongju and his brothers capably carried on their tradition, and they were particularly skilled at doing fine ladies. Their arched eyebrows and full faces have the same feel as his renderings of flowers and butterflies. At present, there are fourteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Peach Blossom,* one picture
*Cut-Branch Peach Blossoms,* one picture
*Ladies Picking Flowers,* two pictures
*Cutting Peonies,* four pictures
*Lily Magnolia,* one picture
*Purple Swallows and Sprouting Herbs,* two pictures
*Tawny Daylilies and Cats,* one picture
*Flowers, Bamboo, and Cats Catching Sparrows,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Vegetables,* one picture

Tang Xiya was a man of Jiaxing.[29] Marvelous at painting bamboo, he was also skilled at feathered creatures. At first he studied the "gold-inlaid [knife]" calligraphy of the Southern Tang pretender Li Yu, a method in which each stroke has three movements. Although [his writing] seemed very thin, it had plenty of style and spirit. In his later years he turned to painting, where he utilized that same calligraphic method with its struggling, dragging [look] and three movements. He liked to do groves of chastetree, catalpa, and wild jujubes with a feel of the secluded, rustic wilds, where the atmosphere and tone were lonely and sparse. They were not like something bound by the rules of painters. Xu Xuan also said that the feathers [in his bird paintings] were not very successful, yet in energy and spirit he excelled.[30] What an accurate comment! At present, there are eighty-eight works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Prunus, Bamboo, and Various Birds,* one picture
*Prunus, Bamboo, and Shrikes,* one picture
*Prunus, Bamboo, and the Five Birds,* two pictures
*Prunus and Sparrows,* one picture
*Oleander and a Gathering of Birds,* two pictures
*Oleander and Lake Rocks,* three pictures
*Oleander and Wrens,* one picture
*Chirping Wrens in a Thicket of Thin Bamboo,* two pictures
*Gathering of Birds in a Thicket of White Bamboo,* two pictures

*Eggplant, Mustard, Bees, and Butterflies,* one picture
*Bamboo, Rocks, Birds, and a Sparrow-Hawk,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Nesting Birds,* one picture
*Ancient Tree, Fowl, and Hawk,* three pictures
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, and a Gathering of Birds,* two pictures
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, and Nesting Birds,* three pictures
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, and Various Birds,* eight pictures
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, and a Pair of Birds,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, and Partridges,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, and Wild Ducks,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, and a Golden Pheasant,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, Flowers, and Sparrows,* one picture
*Willow Branches and Nesting Sparrows,* one picture
*Chirping Birds in Snowy Bamboo,* one picture
*Pair of Ring-Necked Pheasants,* one picture
*Pair of Birds,* one picture
*Bamboo and Rocks,* one picture
*Bamboo and Birds,* four pictures
*Bamboo in Wind,* one picture
*Bamboo and Deer,* one picture
*Bamboo in Snow,* one picture
*Reeds and Ducks,* two pictures
*Gathering of Birds,* five pictures
*Bamboo and Sparrows,* one picture
*Pairs of Birds,* one picture
*Chirping Sparrows,* two pictures
*Nesting Birds,* two pictures
*Partridges and Sparrow-Hawk,* one picture
*Birds in Snow,* six pictures
*Hawk and Monkey,* one picture
*Ducks in Snow,* four pictures
*Transverse Bamboo,* three pictures
*Silkworm Thorn and Sparrows,* one picture
*Bamboo and Sparrows,* eight pictures

Tang Zhongzuo was a cousin of Su and a grandson of Xiya.[31] He was good at painting feathered creatures, flowers, and bamboo, and in all of them [he created] marvels that circulated in the world. Princes, nobles, and men from powerful families all contended to solicit him, so their shoes were always piled high outside his door, and his pictures were much valued by those who got them. In his paintings, Zhongzuo did not particularly emphasize description of forms, but thoroughly conveyed his subject's

natural qualities. Thus his flowers were beautiful in an opulent way, and his bamboos were rustic in a sketchy way. The feathers on his birds were done with rapid and exceedingly unrestrained [brushwork], and his technique entered through skill into [the Way], indeed! At present, there are twenty works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Chinese Flat Peach Tree and Tall Bamboo,* one picture[32]
*Silkworm Thorn Branch and Nesting Birds,* three pictures
*Silkworm Thorn Branch and Bronze Bills,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn Branch and Bulbuls,* one picture
*Flock of Birds Chirping at a Civet,* three pictures
*Fowl and Hawk,* four pictures
*Wintry Grove,* four pictures
*Sparrows and Bamboo,* two pictures
*The Five Birds,* one picture

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1. Li Yu (937–978) was the last ruler of Southern Tang (937–975), who called himself the Sovereign of Jiangnan. See ZGMSJRMCD, 392–393; Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Wudai shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 62:777–780; Soper, *Experiences,* 37, 38, 42, 50, 51, 61, 62, 63, 69, 70, 89, 90, 101; Mi Fu, *Huashi,* in *Songren hualun,* 53; Vandier-Nicolas, *Le Houa-che de Mi Fou,* 128; Gui, ed., *Xuanhe shupu,* 6:217–219.

2. See the entry for Zhong Yin in chapter 16.

3. This style of writing was said to resemble the style of characters inlaid in gold in bronze knife-shaped coins made during the Wang Mang interregnum (9–23). See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 79n6.

4. From the hexagram *qian,* in the *Yijing.* See *Shisan jing,* 1:3: "Clouds follow the dragon; the wind follows the tiger; when the Sagely Man acts, all things observe." This statement is interpreted as the persuasive power of the great man.

5. For Huang Jucai (933–ca. 993), see ZGMSJRMCD, 1145–1146; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 105–133; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 34–36 (figure painting), 82 (bird-and-flower painting); Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 168–174; Soper, *Experiences,* 6, 20, 22, 26, 61–62, 91, 92, 97; Ellen Johnston Laing, "Huang Chü-ts'ai," in *Sung Biographies,* 2:47–50.

6. The Cultured Ancestor was Emperor Taizu, who made Huang a Hanlin painter at the Song court.

7. Lit., "birds from Long" 隴.

8. In Yue Ren's view, this was probably a picture of a basin set into the ground like a pond, filled with plants and aquatic creatures, rather like a water bonsai. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 353n15.

9. This is the title written in Emperor Huizong's handwriting on the hanging scroll in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, believed to be by Huang Jucai. See *Three Thousand Years of Chinese Painting* (New Haven and Beijing: Yale University Press and Foreign Languages Press, 1997), fig. 84, where it is called, more accurately, *Pheasant and Small Birds by a Jujube Shrub.*

10. The seventy-two worthies are likely the seventy-two disciples of Confucius.

11. A reddish-purple peony, famously cultivated in the Song dynasty by the Wei clan in Luoyang. See Egan, "The Peony's Allure: Botanical Treatises and Floral Beauty," in Egan, *The Problem of Beauty,* 109–161.

12. Mi Fu described a similar picture as having the flowers in the basin and the birds next to it. See Mi Fu, *Huashi,* in *Songren hualun,* 174.

13. See ZGMSJRMCD, 150; Soper, *Experiences,* 62; Huang, *Yizhou minghua lu,* 186, who simply says he was the son of Wenbo.

14. The entry for Qiu Wenbo is in chapter 6.

15. The five birds are the "five guests": crane, peacock, parrot, silver pheasant, and egret. Guo Ruoxu discussed a "Picture of the Five Guests." See Soper, *Experiences,* 92.

16. See ZGMSJRMCD, 719–720; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 9–24; Shen Kuo, in Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 126–127; Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue," 31–32; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 78–79; Soper, *Experiences,* 20, 22, 62, 63, 89, 102, 104; Richard M. Barnhart, "Hsü Hsi," in Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies* 2:41–45.

17. This information seems derived from the entry on Xu Xi in SCMHP: "Li Yu's Collected Blossoms Hall was filled with paintings by Xi. These were later kept in the family residence until Yu returned to the Mandate, at which point they all were placed in the Imperial Storehouse." See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 78.

18. This is a description of the "drawing-under-color" method, or *xiesheng.* See my Introduction.

19. These are selected lines from Mei Yaochen's "Harmonizing with Lecturer Yang on *Oleanders*" (He Yang Zhijiang Jiazhuhua tu). See Mei Yaochen, *Wanling ji, Siku Quanshu Wenyuange Electronic Edition,* ch. 54.

20. Reading *changchun* here as *changchunhua,* or "roses," rather than "Everlasting Spring," which was the name of a Tang-dynasty palace. See chapter 12 entry on Wang Shen.

21. "Bronze bills" are egrets.

22. Guo Ruoxu tells of a large painting on double-thread silk that was painted by Xu Xi and his workshop with rocks, plants, birds, and insects. Li Yu had it hung in his palace, where it was known as "Flowers to deck out a hall." See Soper, *Experiences,* 102.

23. Shaoping Garden was a melon garden from Qin times, long lost, on the east side of Chang'an. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 359n26.

24. Or *Crickets,* literally "grass insects."

25. See ZGMSJRMCD, 713; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 84; Shen Kuo, in Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 127; Soper, *Experiences,* 20, 63, 97, 101.

26. Xu Chongsi is credited by Shen Kuo with inventing the "boneless style" of painting; see Bush and Shih, *Early Chinese Texts on Painting,* 127. The other possible interpretation for *mogu* 沒骨 is "peony," the "boneless flower." For Guo Ruoxu on this, see Soper, *Experiences,* 96–97 and 177–178n524. In a colophon on a "boneless flower" painting, Dong You famously confused the painting style and the peony nickname, while crediting the painting style to Xu Chongsi. See Dong, *Guangchuan huaba jiaozhu,* 3.212–214.

27. Lit., "golden sand," a poetic description of the round yellow fruits of the crabapple. In Wang Anshi's poem "On Golden Sand" (Ti jinsha), he explains these follow the flowering of the crabapple. See Wang, *Wang Linchuan quanji,* 31.177.

28. Zhongling stands for Nanjing's Mount Zhong. See ZGMSJRMCD, 713; Soper,

*Experiences,* 20, 63.

29. See ZGMSJRMCD, 662; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 39–43; Soper, *Experiences,* 20, 63; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 79–80, 89.

30. A paraphrase of a comment recorded in THJWZ, source not given. See Soper, *Experiences,* 63. Xu (916–991) was a high-ranking official under Southern Tang who followed Li Yu in submitting to Song, where he also held high office. His biography is in Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 441.13044.

31. Tang Su 宿 was also a grandson of Tang Xiya and a painter of flowers and birds. He and Zhongzuo are treated together in SCMHP. See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 86. For Zhongzuo, see ZGMSJRMCD, 664; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 39–43; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 86, 88; Soper, *Experiences,* 20, 63, under T'ang Su and T'ang Chung-tsu.

32. Although *pantao* is the term used for the peaches of immortality possessed by the Queen Mother of the West in traditional mythology, here *pantao* is more likely the Chinese flat peach, or doughnut peach (*Prunus persica* var. *platycarpa*).

# Chapter Eighteen

## Flowers and Birds, Four

Song Dynasty

Zhao Chang, Yi Yuanji, Cui Bai, Cui Que, Ai Xuan, Ding Kuang, Ge Shouchang

Zhao Chang, whose style name was Changzhi, was a man of Guanghan.[1] He was good at painting flowers and fruit and was quite famous in his day. The cut-branch pictures he did had the sense of life in the highest degree. He was particularly successful at the application of colors. Though he was also skilled at grasses and insects, these were not as superb as his flowers and fruits. In his later years he pleased himself with his paintings, often hiding them away and not putting them up for sale. Those that had left his hands he bought back, so Chang's paintings became hard to get. Artisan-painters focus on capturing the form, yet Chang's works did not focus on capturing the form-likeness, but directly conveyed the spirit of the flowers. Critics did not consider the birds with markings and the cats and hares he added [to his flower pictures] to be his strength, but any elements that are not successful, the viewer may simply overlook. At present, there are one hundred fifty-four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Oleander and Pigeons,* one picture
*Spring Flowers,* one picture
*Oleander and a Pair of Turtledoves,* one picture

*Oleander and Pigeons,* one picture
*Oleander and Flowering Crabapple,* one picture
*Variegated Crabapple and Chinese Rose,* one picture
*Flowering Crabapple and Turtledoves,* one picture
*Green Plum and Cherry,* one picture
*Flowering Crabapple and Pigeons,* one picture
*Variegated Crabapple, Turtledoves, and Birds,* one picture
*Variegated Crabapple,* four pictures
*Apricot Blossoms,* one picture
*Peonies,* six pictures
*Peonies and Golden Pheasant,* one picture
*Peonies and Pigeons,* two pictures
*Peonies and Cats,* one picture
*Peonies and Frolicking Cats,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Peonies,* one picture
*Shrub Peonies,* two pictures
*Flowering Crabapple and Shrub Peonies,* one picture
*Tawny Daylilies and Small Cat,* one picture
*Tawny Daylilies,* one picture
*Tawny Daylilies and Pomegranate Flowers,* one picture
*Tawny Daylilies and Frolicking Cats,* one picture
*Pomegranate and Shrub Peonies,* one picture
*Pomegranates and Grapes,* one picture
*Azaleas and Wrens,* one picture
*Plums and Loquats,* one picture
*Pomegranate and Pear,* one picture
*Grapes and Loquats,* two pictures
*Tawny Daylilies and Hollyhocks,* one picture
*Plums and Dark Red Apricots,* one picture
*Prunus and Apricot,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Pears,* one picture
*Melons and Peaches,* one picture
*Pomegranate Flowers and Frolicking Cats,* two pictures
*Scarlet Cherries and Green Plums,* one picture
*Azaleas and Frolicking Cats,* two pictures
*Willow Catkins and Roses,* one picture
*Yellow Mallows and Ducks,* two pictures
*Azaleas, Sparrows, and Bamboo,* one picture
*Cotton Rose and Egrets,* two pictures
*Cotton Rose and Wild Ring-Necked Pheasant,* one picture
*Cotton Rose,* four pictures
*Cotton Rose and Golden Pheasant,* three pictures

*Hibiscus and Ring-Necked Pheasant,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Hibiscus,* one picture
*Hibiscus and Bamboo Partridge,* one picture
*Cotton Rose and Wintry Chrysanthemums,* two pictures
*Hibiscus and Bronze Bills,* one picture
*Mallows and Water Birds,* one picture
*Mallows and Hoopoes,* one picture
*Mallows and Ring-Necked Pheasant,* one picture
*Smartweed Embankment and a Hare in Autumn,* one picture
*Morning Glory and Willow Catkins,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Flowers and Hares,* one picture
*Lychees and Frost Tangerines,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Red Roses,* one picture
*Grapes and Chestnuts in the Burr,* one picture
*Flowering Quince and Wintry Chrysanthemums,* one picture
*Prunus Blossoms and a Pair of Quail,* one picture
*Prunus Blossoms and Camellias,* one picture
*Camellia and Willow Catkins,* one picture
*Camellia Flowers and Hares,* one picture
*Chestnuts in the Burr and Flowering Quince,* one picture
*Camellias and a Pair of Quail,* one picture
*Camellias,* one picture
*Camellias and Small Hares,* one picture
*Camellias, Bamboo, and Hares,* two pictures
*Early Prunus and Camellias,* one picture
*Early Prunus and Golden Pheasant,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Cut-Branch Flowers,* six pictures
*Prunus and Sparrows,* one picture
*Pears and Persimmons,* one picture
*Persimmons and Chestnuts,* one picture
*Fruits,* one picture
*Autumn Hare,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Fruit,* one picture
*Bicolor Camellias,* one picture
*Beijing Mock-Orange,* one picture
*Chinese Roses,* one picture
*Tawny Daylilies and Mallows,* two pictures
*Bamboo, Rocks, and Frolicking Cats,* one picture
*Clumps of Flowers of the Four Seasons,* four pictures
*Cut-branch Flowers,* seven pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Snowflakes,* one picture[2]
*Various Fruits,* two pictures

*Clusters of Flowers,* four pictures
*Various Flowers,* fourteen pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Flowers,* three pictures
*Flowering Crabapple and Cotton Rose Blooms,* four pictures
*Drunken Cats,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Various Flowers,* one picture
*[Flowers] Appropriate to the Four Seasons,* one picture
*Ducks,* one picture
*Young Cats,* one picture
*Flowers of the Four Seasons with Wrens and Their Young,* one picture
*Mallows and Wrens with Their Young,* one picture

Yi Yuanji, whose style name was Qingzhi, was a man of Changsha.[3] He was naturally gifted with extraordinary intelligence. He was good at painting, for which he gained fame in his day. At first he specialized in flowers and birds, but when he saw paintings by Zhao Chang, he said, "The world scarcely lacks men [of talent], so I must give up my old ways. To become a famous painter, I need to achieve something the ancients never did." Subsequently, he roamed between the Jinghu [Circuits], seeking out unusual [animals] and visiting ancient [sites]. On famous mountains and great rivers, at each beautiful scene he encountered, he would immediately indwell his mind [in a picture]. He often found himself wandering with apes, deer, and boars. All that moved his mind and struck his eye he described with his brush, which is why the commonplace are unable to "peep through the fence." Also, he once dredged out a pond and started a garden behind the cottage where he lived in Changsha, and he set scattered rocks and bamboo thickets in it, along with prunus, chrysanthemums, and rushes. There he raised all kinds of water birds and mountain creatures, and he would watch their attitudes in motion or rest, as they roamed about or slept, which gave him material for imagination in his painting. This is why no one surpassed his description of the appearance of animals and plants. In the Zhiping era, Yuanji was summoned to paint *Flowers, Rocks, and Rare Birds* on the imperial audience screen in the Yingli Hall of the Jingling Palace.[4] He also made the *Roebucks* in the Shenyou Hall. In both of these, he attained the utmost in skill. A short time later he was recalled to paint a *Hundred Apes,* where Yuanji would be able to display the extent of his learning.[5] At present, there are two hundred forty-five works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Peonies and Pigeons,* one picture
*Shrub Peonies and Pigeons,* two pictures

*Pear Blossoms and Partridges,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Cut-Branch Flowers,* four pictures
*Summer Scene with Frolicking Apes,* one picture
*Summer Scene with Apes and Roebucks,* three pictures
*Summer Scene with Frolicking Monkeys,* two pictures
*Lake Tai Rocks and Peacocks,* two pictures
*Flowers in a Vase and Peacocks,* two pictures
*Ape and Her Infant Stealing Fruit,* one picture
*Autumn Scene with Roebucks and Apes,* four pictures
*Autumn Scene with Frolicking Apes,* one picture
*Autumn Scene with Egrets,* one picture
*Rushing Torrent and a Pair of Apes,* two pictures
*Cluster Fig Tree and Peacocks,* one picture
*Reed Catkins and a Band of Apes,* one picture
*Camellias, Horses, and Deer,* one picture
*Camellias and Peacocks,* two pictures
*Camellias and Frolicking Apes,* two pictures
*Flock of Birds Chirping at a Tiger,* two picture
*Flowering Branch and Birds,* one picture
*The Four Beasts Dwelling Together,* two pictures
*The Three Types of Creatures Frolicking in Bands,* two pictures
*Band of Apes Frolicking with Bees,* two pictures
*The Four Types of Creatures Guarding Their Young,* four pictures
*Badgers and Apes Frolicking in Bands,* two pictures
*Roebucks and Apes Frolicking in Bands,* one picture
*Eroded Rocks, Roebucks, and Apes,* two pictures
*Eroded Rocks and Apes,* two pictures
*Eroded Rocks and Various Apes,* two pictures
*Frolicking Roebucks and Apes with Their Young,* two pictures
*Eroded Rocks and Partridges,* two pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Grapes,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Beijing Mock-orange,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Pomegranate,* two pictures
*Sketch of Auspicious Peonies,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Various Vegetables,* three pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Loquats,* two pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Pumpkins,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Vegetables,* two pictures
*Drawing-under-Color Flowering Quince,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Shrub Peonies,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Cats and a Rattan Stool,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Chinese Rose,* one picture

*Drawing-under-Color Pair of Quail,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Flowers,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Cranes,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Caged Quail,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Roebucks,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Frolicking Cats,* three pictures
*Small Scene with Roebucks and Apes,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Elaphure,* one picture
*Small Scene with Roebucks and Deer,* two pictures
*Small Scene with Frolicking Apes,* four pictures
*Chestnuts in the Burr and Apes,* one picture
*Small Scene with Band of Roebucks,* two pictures
*Apes and Monkeys Looking About Startled,* two pictures
*Small Scene,* two pictures
*Cat and Kittens Frolicking,* one picture
*Frolicking Apes Looking at Monkeys,* two pictures
*Monkey with Her Infants,* four pictures
*Monkey Frolicking with Her Infants,* two pictures
*Roebuck Doe and Her Fawns,* two pictures
*Ape Frolicking with Her Infants,* two pictures
*Bitch and Puppies,* one picture
*Loquats and Frolicking Apes,* two pictures
*Creatures of Hills and Groves,* two pictures
*Roebucks and Their Young,* two pictures
*Bamboo, Rocks, Roebucks, and Birds,* two pictures
*Chestnut Branch and Partridges,* one picture
*Cockscomb and Frolicking Cats,* one picture
*Bamboo, Rocks, and a Pair of Roebucks,* two pictures
*Cabbages and Weasel,* one picture
*Bamboo Twigs and Small Birds,* one picture
*Pair of Apes Frolicking with Bees,* two pictures
*Rattan Stool with Sleeping Cat,* one picture
*The Four Types of Creatures,* two pictures
*Five Auspicious [Creatures],* one picture
*Hundred Apes,* eight pictures
*Hundred Birds,* four pictures
*Herd of Roebucks,* eight pictures
*Pair of Roebucks,* two pictures
*Four Apes,* six pictures
*Pair of Apes,* two pictures
*Band of Apes,* two pictures
*Frolicking Monkeys,* two pictures

*Frolicking Apes,* twenty pictures
*Roebucks and Apes,* six pictures
*Macaques,* two pictures
*Old Apes,* one picture
*Roebucks and Monkeys,* three pictures
*Roebucks and Rocks,* three pictures
*Frolicking Cats,* one picture
*Apes and Monkeys,* four pictures
*Frolicking Roebucks,* three pictures
*Badgers and Apes,* two pictures
*Mongolian Oak and Roebucks,* one picture
*Yellow Chrysanthemums,* four pictures
*Raised Gold,* one picture
*Noble Fowl,* one picture
*Fowl and Hawk,* three pictures
*Cut-Branch Flowers,* one picture
*Peacocks,* four pictures
*Golden Monkey,* one picture
*Ducks and Their Young,* one picture
*Apes,* two pictures
*Sparrow-Hawk on a Stand,* one picture
*Sleeping Cats,* one picture
*Flowers and Sparrows,* one picture
*Prunus Blossoms,* one picture
*Mongolian Oak, Sparrows, and Deer,* one picture
*Bamboo, Rocks, Roebucks, and Apes,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Camellias,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Lilac Blossoms,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Black Bamboo and Frolicking Apes,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Seasonal Fruit in a Porcelain Bowl,* one picture
*Drawing-under-Color Flowering Quince and Partridges,* one picture
*Flowering Quince, Camellias, and Frolicking Roebuck,* two pictures

Cui Bai, whose style name was Zixi, was a man of Haoliang.[6] He was good at painting flowers, bamboo, and feathered creatures; water caltrops and lotus; wild ducks and wild geese; Daoist and Buddhist demons and gods; and the birds and beasts of hills and groves. He excelled at sketching from life, and his greatest skill was in geese.[7] His paintings were invariably superb. He expressed his thoughts directly in his painting, and though he never availed himself of the straight-edge, his curved and straight lines, and his squares and circles, were accurate. In the Xining era, he first came to the attention of Emperor Shenzong, who ordered him, along with Ai

Xuan, Ding Kuang, and Ge Shouchang, to paint the imperial audience screen in the Chuigong Hall with *Oleander, Flowering Crabapple, and Cranes*. Everyone considered Bai to have done the best, and as a result he was appointed a Scholar of Arts in the Painting Academy. Bai's nature was unambitious and untrammeled, and he firmly refused. [The emperor] graciously excused him from any non-imperial orders and freed him from ordinary duties, and only then did he reluctantly take the position. Since Bai relied too much on his native talent, he could not avoid a certain amount of unevenness, yet his successes were not inferior to the ancients'. His two pictures called *Xie An Retreating to East Mountain* and *[Wang] Ziyou Visiting Dai [Kui]* circulated in the world. Such pictures would not exist but for his love of antiquity, his profound learning, and his capacity to use his imagination to paint the men of antiquity. Since the days of the emperors [Tai]zu and [Tai]zong, the artists of the Painting Academy were compelled to take the brush methods of Huang Quan and his son as their model, but with the advent of Bai and Wu Yuanyu, however, the standard was changed. At present, there are two hundred forty-one works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Spring Grove with Partridges,* one picture
*Chinese Flat Peach Tree and Partridges,* one picture
*Apricot Blossom and Geese,* four pictures
*Apricot, Bamboo, and Domestic Geese,* two pictures
*Apricot Blossoms and a Pair of Geese,* two pictures
*Apricot, Bamboo and Orioles,* three pictures
*Apricot Blossoms and Spring Birds,* one picture
*Geese in Flowers,* three pictures
*Apricot Blossoms,* one picture
*Peonies and Frolicking Cats,* two pictures
*Lake Rocks and Peonies in the Breeze,* one picture
*Falling Flowers and a Pair of Geese,* two pictures
*Flying Hawk and a Pair of Geese,* two pictures
*Flourishing Lotus and Egrets,* two pictures
*Falling Flowers, Rushing Waters,* four pictures
*Lotus Flowers and Domestic Geese,* one picture
*Flourishing Lotus and Domestic Geese,* two pictures
*Autumn Pond with a Pair of Geese,* two pictures
*Landscape in Wind and Rain,* three pictures
*White Lotus and a Pair of Geese,* two pictures
*Autumn Slope, Falcon, and Hares,* two pictures
*Autumn Peaks and a Rustic Ferry,* three pictures
*Autumn Pond and a Flock of Geese,* three pictures

*Autumn Pond and a Pair of Ducks,* two pictures
*Autumn Lotuses and a Flock of Ducks,* one picture
*Autumn Lotuses and a Pair of Egrets,* two pictures
*Autumn Lotuses and Wild Ducks,* four pictures
*Autumn Pond, Ducks, and Egrets,* three pictures
*Autumn Falcon and Fleeing Hares,* two pictures
*Autumn Lotuses,* two pictures
*Autumn Hare,* one picture
*Bamboo and Hares,* one picture
*Autumn Riverbank and Domestic Geese,* two pictures
*Smartweed Embankment, Turtles, and Ducks,* one picture
*Misty Sandbar and Wild Geese at Daybreak,* four pictures
*Decaying Lotus and a Flock of Wild Ducks,* three pictures
*Decaying Lotus, Bamboo, and Ducks,* two pictures
*Misty Waves, Egrets, and Hawk,* two pictures
*Pond with Reeds and Wild Ducks,* two pictures
*Egrets in Wind and Mist,* one picture
*Embankment in Reeds and Swimming Ducks,* two pictures
*Reeds and Ducks,* two pictures
*Smartweed Sandbar and Flock of Wild Ducks,* one picture
*Prince's-Feather and Egrets,* two pictures
*Partridges Nesting in a Mongolian Oak,* one picture
*Shrikes in a Bamboo Thicket,* two pictures
*Thrushes in Tall Bamboo,* two pictures
*Tall Bamboo,* two pictures
*Bamboo,* two pictures
*Bamboo Shoots,* two pictures
*Mist, Waves, and a Flock of Egrets,* two pictures
*Bamboo in Wind,* two pictures
*Lotus Buds and a Pair of Geese,* one picture
*Mongolian Oak, Bamboo, and Wrens,* two pictures
*Bamboo Thicket,* two pictures
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, and Wrens,* one picture
*Bamboo and Rocks,* two pictures
*Ancient Tree and Hoopoes,* two pictures
*Bamboo Shoot Leaves and Hoopoes,* two pictures
*Tall Bamboo,* four pictures
*Black Bamboo,* two pictures
*Leaning Rocks and Bamboo Thicket,* one picture
*Bamboo, Prunus, Turtledoves, and Hare,* one picture
*Ink Bamboo,* two pictures
*Ink Bamboo and Mynas,* four pictures

*Ink Bamboo, Monkeys, and Rocks,* two pictures
*Ink Bamboo and Wild Magpies,* two pictures
*Ink-Wash Sparrows and Bamboo,* one picture
*Ink-Wash Wild Magpies,* one picture
*Roebucks and Monkeys in a Shady Grove,* three pictures
*A Band of Monkeys at Water's Edge,* one picture
*Noble Fowl Chasing Hares,* two pictures
*Macaques in a Mountain Grove,* two pictures
*Black Eagle,* one picture
*Nesting Hawks,* two pictures
*Ten Wild Geese,* three pictures
*Six Wild Geese,* two pictures
*Snowy Reeds and a Pair of Wild Geese,* three pictures
*Roebucks in a Grove,* one picture
*Geese Frolicking in Water,* one picture
*Pines and Roebucks,* one picture
*Frolicking Apes,* one picture
*Gray Hares,* one picture
*Pair of Roebucks,* one picture
*Fowl, Sketched from Life,* two pictures
*Roebucks and Apes,* one picture
*Bamboo, Rocks, and Chinese Scholartree in Bloom,* two pictures
*Wind, Waves, Mists, and Vapor,* three pictures
*Snow Scene with Talented Scholar,* one picture
*Dense Snow, Hawk, and Hare,* one picture
*Reeds in Snow and Wintry Wild Geese,* three pictures
*Bamboo in Snow and Partridges,* three pictures
*Pond in Snow with Flying Squirrels and Ducks,* two pictures
*Wild Geese in Snow,* thirteen pictures
*Lotus and a Pair of Geese in Snow,* two pictures
*Bamboo and a Pair of Birds in Snow,* two pictures
*Bamboo and a Pair of Wrens in Snow,* two pictures
*Mountainside in Snow,* two pictures
*Tall Bamboo and Ducks in Snow,* two pictures
*Birds in Snow,* two pictures
*Hares in Snow,* one picture
*Falcon in Snow,* one picture
*Ducks in Snow,* one picture
*Prunus, Bamboo, and Birds in Snow,* two pictures
*Snowy Pond with Lotuses,* two pictures
*Prunus, Bamboo, and Winter Birds,* two pictures
*Bamboo in Snow,* two pictures

*Wintry Pond and Clearing after Snow,* two pictures
*Watching Geese in a Landscape,* one picture
*Picking Lotuses,* two pictures
*Guanyin Bodhisattva,* one icon
*Lokapalas Crossing the Sea,* two pictures
*Luohans,* six icons
*Huizi and Zhuangzi Looking at Fish,* one picture
*Xie An at East Mountain,* two pictures
*[Wang] Ziyou Visiting Dai [Kui],* one picture
*Early Outing at Xiangyang,* one picture
*Water Rocks, Roebucks, and Apes,* two pictures
*Autumn Lotuses and Domestic Geese,* one picture
*He Zhizhang Roaming about Jian Lake,* one picture[8]
*Oleander, Flowering Crabapple, and Cranes,* on the Imperial Audience Screen in the Chuigong Hall, one picture

Cui Que, whose style name was Zizhong, was a younger brother of Cui Bai.[9] He held the official post of Palace Eunuch of the Left Duty Group.[10] His skill at painting flowers and birds earned praise in his day. Though his elder brother Bai gained fame before him, in Que's paintings, the brush methods and scale were similar to Bai's. Generally, when he created a scene and depicted the objects, he laid out the composition and finished the picture without putting anything trivial into it. When he painted flowers and bamboo, he often gave it the feeling of what was beyond the sandy shore. When he rendered ducks in the breeze or wild geese in the snow, on a reedy islet or rushy embankment, they look as though they are in the moment of transition before taking flight, and they seem to have the natural attitudes of creatures that live in uninhabited places. He was particularly fond of painting hares and created his own style. Basically, though hares from different places are similar in appearance, there are slight variations in fur color. Some live in mountain groves, while some live in the open country, so their habitats are different. Those in the mountains often lack a long outer coat, and their underbellies are not white. In the open country, with its light-colored vegetation, they have quite a lot of outer hair and white bellies. These are basic differences. Bai Juyi once wrote, in his poem on Xuanzhou brushes, "On a rock in Jiangnan is an old hare, eating bamboo and drinking spring water to grow his dark outer coat."[11] This shows his lack of knowledge about these creatures. It is said that Jiangnan hares never grow an outer coat. The brush-makers of Xuanzhou only use the outer coat fur from hares from the mountains of Qing[zhou] and Qi[zhou] to make their brushes.[12] Though painters may just "communicate through the arts," when a

question arises involving the investigation of principles, they must know why a thing is so. This discussion of Que's paintings of hares is here to make this point. The artists in the Hanlin Painting Academy who were assessed on their level of skill had to take the brush methods of Huang Quan and his son as their model, but with the advent of Que and his elder brother Bai, the standard for painting was changed. At present, there are sixty-seven works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Oleander and Egrets,* two pictures
*Apricot, Bamboo, and Partridges,* two pictures
*Apricot, Bamboo, and Ring-Necked Pheasant,* one picture
*Pomegranate in Flower and Orioles,* four pictures
*Pear Blossom and Golden Pheasant,* three pictures
*Oleander and Flowering Crabapple,* two pictures
*Gardenia and Ring-Necked Pheasant,* two pictures
*Tall Bamboo and Orioles,* two pictures
*Pomegranate in Flower and Silver Pheasant,* three pictures
*Yellow Pomegranate and a Pair of Hares,* one picture
*Flowers, Bamboo, and Shrikes,* two pictures
*Islet with Lotuses,* one picture[13]
*Summer Stream,* four pictures
*Mallows and a Pair of Hares,* one picture
*Mallows and a Weasel,* one picture
*Rose of Sharon,* one picture
*Autumn Falcon Pouncing on a Hare,* two pictures
*Reeds and Wild Geese,* three pictures
*Autumn Lotus and Wild Ducks,* three pictures
*Autumn Lotus and Domestic Geese,* one picture
*Pair of Birds and Autumn Hares,* two pictures
*Cotton Rose and Wild Ducks,* four pictures
*Mongolian Oak, Bamboo, and a Pair of Hares,* two pictures
*Prunus, Bamboo, and a Pair of Birds,* three pictures
*Snowy Bamboo and Wintry Wild Geese,* one picture
*Ducks and Partridges in Snow,* two pictures
*Wintry Reeds and Egrets in Snow,* two pictures
*Camellias,* one picture
*Bamboo and Partridges in Snow,* two pictures
*Pair of Quail Sketched from Life,* two pictures
*Flock of Turtledoves,* two pictures
*Gray Hare,* one picture
*Frolicking Apes and Partridges,* two pictures

Ai Xuan was a man of Jinling.[14] He was good at painting flowers, bamboo, and birds, and he was able to use light washes of color to create a lifelike feel, which showed no traces of his hand. His paintings were striking and refined, nothing the common craftsmen of recent times could do. He was particularly fond of doing scenes of decaying grasses and wild thorns with a rustic, desolate feel. He gained fame in his day for painting quail. Though Xuan was an epigone of Xu Xi and Zhao Chang, Emperor Shenzong ordered him, along with Cui Bai, Ge Shouchang, and Ding Kuang, to paint the pictures on the Imperial audience screen in the Chuigong Hall. Although he was not up to the standard to be entered into catalogues, because he was selected [by the emperor] in the Xining period, he has been specially entered into this *Catalogue*. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Oleander, Flowering Crabapple, and Cranes,* on the Imperial Audience Screen in the Chuigong Hall, one picture

Ding Kuang was a man of Haoliang.[15] He was good at painting flowers, bamboo, and feathered creatures, but not good enough to rank alongside such men as Huang Quan, Xu Xi, or Yi Yuanji. Still, in the Xining era, he was known to Emperor Shenzong, who ordered him and Cui Bai, Ai Xuan, and Ge Shouchang to paint the pictures on an Imperial audience screen in the Chuigong Hall, a great honor at that time. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Oleander, Flowering Crabapple, and Cranes,* on the Imperial Audience Screen in the Chuigong Hall, one picture

Ge Shouchang was a man of the capital who served in the Painting Academy as a Painter-in-Waiting at that time.[16] He was good at painting flowers and birds. His blossoms and branches, as well as the attitudes of birds calling in flight, were very lifelike. There are many painters who do these subjects, yet those who attain form-likeness but lack the spark fail to be complete. Those whose brushwork is excessively abbreviated fail by way of crudeness. Brushwork skilled enough to create something untrammeled or simple enough to be expressive can only be grasped by one who comprehends what lies beyond brush and ink. Ge Shouchang was an avid student, and his [skill] quickly came to enter into [the Way]. He was also good at painting grasses and insects and different types of vegetables, at which he excelled equally. In the past, at the start of the Xining era, Emperor Shenzong ordered Cui Bai, Ai Xuan, Ding Kuang, and

Shouchang to paint the pictures on the Imperial audience screen in the Chuigong Hall. Although he was not up to the standard to be entered into catalogues, because he was received [by the emperor] in the Xining period, he has been specially entered into this *Catalogue.* At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Oleander, Flowering Crabapple, and Cranes,* on the Imperial Audience Screen in the Chuigong Hall, one picture

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1. Zhao probably died around 1008. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1282; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 233–244; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 82–83, 86; Soper, "A Northern Sung Descriptive Catalogue," 33; Soper, *Experiences,* 64, 97, 104; S. Ueda, "Chao Ch'ang," in Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies,* 2:1.

2. Lit., "six-flowers," which Yue Ren identifies as "snowflake," so named from its six-pointed, flowerlike structure (*Xuanhe huapu,* 368n9). This would be the unique instance of a snowflake painting in this *Catalogue,* however, and it is hard to imagine how color would be used in the painting of a snowflake. Since Zhao Chang was a bird-and-flower painter, I wonder if *liuhua* ("six flower") is not a homophone for some type of flower, which would seem a more likely subject.

3. See ZGMSJRMCD, 520; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 298–307; and Soper, *Experiences,* 64–65, the source for this entry.

4. This should be Jingling Shrine, according to Soper, *Experiences,* 180n540.

5. Guo Ruoxu says he died after completing only ten images; see Soper, *Experiences,* 64–65.

6. See ZGMSJRMCD, 796; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 308–319; Soper, *Experiences,* 21, 54, 65–66, the source for this entry.

7. Here I translate *xiesheng* 寫生 as "sketching from life," not as "drawing-under-color," since no pictures with this term in the title appear here under his name, and paintings now attributed to him, such as *Magpies and Hare* in the National Palace Museum, Taipei, are done in ink and light color.

8. He Zhizhang (659–744) was a high official in the Kaiyuan period (713–742). In his later years, he retired to Kuaiji (modern Shaoxing), where he requested a part of this lake to be set up as a pond for the release of living creatures, a Buddhist practice believed to generate karmic merit.

9. See ZGMSJRMCD, 799; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 308–319; Soper, *Experiences,* 60, 66, under Ts'ui Ch'io.

10. See Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* 6982. This is surely an error, since no other source identifies Cui as a eunuch. THJWZ has *zuo tingzhi,* or Senior Court Auxiliary.

11. This is a *yuefu* poem called "Zihao bi," which Wen Yuanyuan translates as "violet pekoe" brushes. See Wen Yuanyuan, "Tangdai Xuan bi kaobian," *Zhongnan daxue xuebao: shehui kexue ban* 19.3 (2013):202–206.

12. Yue Ren says the traditional brush-makers of Xuanzhou used local rabbit hair, not any from faraway Shandong. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 376n7.

13. Reading *zhu* 渚 instead of *zhu* 諸.

14. See ZGMSJRMCD, 244; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 330–332; Soper, *Experiences,* 66.

15. See ZGMSJRMCD, 6; Soper, *Experiences,* 66, 67, under Ting Huang.

16. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1211; Soper, *Experiences,* 66.

# Chapter Nineteen

## Flowers and Birds, Five

Song Dynasty

Wang Xiao, Liu Chang, Liu Yongnian, Wu Yuanyu, Jia Xiang, Yue Shixuan, Li Zhengchen, Li Zhongxuan

Wang Xiao was a man of Sizhou.[1] He was good at painting such things as twittering birds, bramble thickets, and fine hawks. He studied Guo Qianhui. Though he did not match him, yet the way he depicted [hawks] in attitudes of attacking, seizing, and flying about as the alarm is raised by flocks of ground-nesting birds squawking and calling out, also had vigor and nobility! It seems very few of his works circulated in the world. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Chirping Sparrows*

Liu Chang was a man of Jinling.[2] He was good at painting flowers and bamboo, and he thoroughly attained their subtleties. He was famous in the lower Yangzi area. At home he cultivated a garden, where he planted flowers and bamboo himself. Every day he would wander and relax there, and whatever captured his imagination, he would make a painting of it, and so he became a companion of Creation. His method of applying color did not involve lining the back [of the silk] with red or white pigment, but he simply blended the deep and light shades of pigments. A short time

after Mi Fu was appointed an Erudite in the School of Calligraphy, he passed through Jinling, where he was given a cut-branch peach blossom picture painted by Chang. Thereupon, Fu had it mounted on a screen, so he could sit and recline under it. At night he would light candles and sit opposite it, seeming to talk to it, and so he passed several months admiring it.[3] He considered Chang's knowledge not inferior to any of Zhao Chang's class.[4] At present, there are four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Apricot Blossoms, Sketched from Life,* one picture
*Peach Blossoms,* one picture
*Flowering Quince Blossoms,* one picture
*The Six Flowers,* one picture

The military official Liu Yongnian, whose style name was Gongxi, was a grand-nephew of the Empress Dowager, Consort of Brilliance, Intelligence, Foresight, and Virtue.[5] His forebears had been residents of Pengcheng who later relocated to Kaifeng, which is why his home was there. When Yongnian was four *sui* and Emperor Renzong first began to rule on his own, the sons and grandsons of his mother's family did not have official ranks. Yongnian was put into the Palace Veneration Company, with access to the two palaces.[6] When Renzong ordered him to write a short poem containing the line, "One pillar can support the sky," the emperor was astonished at how unusual it was.[7] Once Renzong accidentally tossed a wine cup into the water from the Jasper Ford Pavilion, then playfully asked those around him, "Who will go get that for me?" Yongnian leapt into the water and retrieved it. Renzong stroked the top of his head and declared him "the thousand-*li* steed of the Liu clan!" From this time on, he was treated specially and allowed to live in the palace. When he was twelve, he first began to attend the emperor when he left the palace. Yongnian was fond of reading and had a thorough comprehension of military methods. His strength was superior to others'. Once he had been sent as an envoy to a northern state, and something he did in his post there made the people angry. In the night, they blockaded the post station gate with a large stone. Everyone was frightened except Yongnian, who had always been known for his great strength. He moved the stone out of the way, and the northerners thought he was a god. When he returned to court, he was praised in an imperial decree and promoted to the post of governor of Jingzhou. The emperor wrote a poem as a mark of favor on his departure. People suppose that with such a tough and heroic personality, he would not engage in pleasant activities, yet the

ability to learn brushwork and "the reds-and-blues," to soak the brush and spread the ink freely, is a manifestation of the person's mind. He had particular skill at painting birds, animals, insects, and fish. He also did paintings of Daoist and Buddhist figures, in which he attained the eccentricity of Guanxiu. The way he used the brush was not like the fine-tip, slender-grip manner of painters; if it suited his purpose, he would use a whitewash brush.[8] This is something a staff painter could never attain. He held the posts of Inspector in the Palace Command of the Metropolitan Cavalry Command and the Metropolitan Infantry Command, Vice Commander-in-Chief of the Metropolitan Infantry Command, Surveillance Commissioner of Yongzhou, and Military Commissioner of the Chongxin Army. He was given the posthumous epithet of "Strong and Respectful." At present, there are thirty-six works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Flowers and Ducks,* four pictures
*Domestic Geese,* three pictures
*Domestic Geese, Sketched from Life,* one picture
*Pairs of Geese,* five pictures
*Hawk and Hares,* one picture
*Horned Falcon,* one picture
*Falcon,* one picture
*Reeds and Wild Geese,* four pictures
*Turtles, Sketched from Life,* one picture
*Ink-Wash Pair of Pigeons,* one picture
*Flock of Chickens,* one picture
*Sleeping Crows,* two pictures
*Pines and Hawks,* one picture
*Ink-Wash Badgers,* one picture
*Fish Threading through Willows,* one picture
*Herding Donkeys,* one picture
*Autumn Hares,* two pictures
*Ink Bamboo,* two pictures
Sketch-copy of *Jupiter,* one icon
*Longevity Deer,* one picture
*Ink-Wash Eggplants,* one picture

The military official Wu Yuanyu, whose style name was Gongqi, was a man of the capital.[9] At first he served as an official in the Secretariat of the Establishment of the Prince of Wu,[10] but then he was transferred to Palace Duty Officer of the Right.[11] He was good at painting. His teacher

was Cui Bai, who was able to transform the commonplace atmosphere of the so-called Academy style. Along with Yuanyu, the ordinary Academy painters were able to shed their old habits, and they began to express themselves in their brushwork a bit more. Of all these successful painters, Yuanyu prevailed by following in the footsteps of his elder. Hence his painting emerged above that of the crowd of artisans, and he established his own tradition. Because he specialized in this, the works of his that circulated were many, and those who sought a painting from Yuanyu came one after another. When the Prince of Wu sent Yuanyu to Taizhou to make a copy of the *Icon of Xu Shenweng,*[12] the Presented Scholar Li Fen wrote a poem sending him off, which read:

"The reds-and-blues" of General Wu Yuanyu are the marvel of the age, so the Prince of Wu ordered him to take a boat to Hailing to copy the *Icon of Xu Shenweng* and return with it.[13] Thus I have written a poem and a preface about this affair to give him. It says:

Waking or dreaming, the First August Emperor of Qin thought of the words of Mao Ying,[14]
and focused his thoughts on longevity and ascending to immortality.
Xu Fu had completed his elixir and attained immortality;
but the sea was obscured by clouds, and he remained for a long while.

The sun and moon rose and set as autumn turned to spring;
as the sea was transformed into mulberry fields, how many generations passed?
Suddenly it seemed as though he could again see his old world,
so he drove his phoenix chariot straight down to the riverbank.

Commoners and country folk were not cultivating the fields,
but were sweeping out the immortal's worship hall to greet him.
His secret utterances and private writings astonished ordinary men,
and those who sat with him awhile were suddenly startled to learn thirty years had passed.

The Prince of Huainan came to believe in Daoism when he heard that genuine traces [of Xu] remained,[15]
and he ordered his officials to pilot a skiff to seek after news.
The earlier painter was possessed of superlative skills,
so one glance at this immortal's air and his mind naturally got it.

Though his return could not be seen through the dark mist on the

horizon,
yet on a three-foot piece of raw painting silk the ink flew as though he were tipsy.
The Shenweng on the painted scroll cannot be comprehended,
yet he resembles a white crane riding a solitary cloud.

Hailing is a thousand *li* away, and unfortunately our toil in this world is not over.
May the day come when you [like Zhang Liang] will be given the book on the bridge,
and I sincerely pray you will pick up the shoes of Huang [Shi]gong.[16]

Such was the admiration he received in his own day. Later, he was appointed Military Director-in-Chief of Guangzhou, but when he was transferred to a position back in the capital, those seeking his paintings only increased. As Yuanyu grew older, he could no longer keep up with the demand, and since he, too, knew the value of his own works, he took paintings done by others or copies made by his students, impressed them with his own seals and called them his own works, in order to fulfil these duties perfunctorily, but people could tell the difference. He died not long after. He reached the positions of Grand Master of Military Merit[17] and Military Training Commissioner of Hezhou. At present, there are one hundred eighty-nine works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Peonies, Sketched from Life,* one picture
*Peach Blossoms and Orioles,* one picture
*Ruby Peach and Sleeping Crows,* one picture
*Apricot Blossoms and Ring-Necked Pheasant,* three pictures
*Apricot Blossoms and Mottled Turtledoves,* one picture
*Golden Orioles in a Doughnut Peach Tree,* one picture[18]
*Cypress Branches and Doughnut Peach Tree,* one picture
*Apricot Blossom and Ducks,* two pictures
*Apricot Blossom and a Flock of Birds,* two pictures
*Pear Blossom and Egrets,* two pictures
*Pear Blossom and Peacocks,* five pictures
*Pear Blossom and Turtledoves,* three pictures
*Pear Blossom and Orioles,* one picture
*Pine Branches and Apricot Blossom,* one picture
*Chinese Pear-Leaved Crabapples and Cuckoos,* two pictures
*Golden Chinese Pear-Leaved Crabapples and Blue Birds,* one picture
*Golden Chinese Pear-Leaved Crabapples and Partridges,* two pictures

*Flowering Crabapple and Partridges,* one picture
*Flowering Crabapple and Turtledoves,* one picture
*Flowering Crabapple and Springtime Orioles,* one picture
*Flowering Crabapple and Orioles,* two pictures
*Plum Blossom and Parrots,* two pictures
*Double-Flowering Peach against Mountain Verdure,* two pictures
*Four Beautiful Scenes of Winter Daphne,* one picture
*Willow Pond with Ducks,* two pictures
*Spring Birds,* one picture
*Flowering Quince Blossom and Peacock,* one picture
*Flowering Quince and a Pair of Birds,* one picture
*Spring River,* one picture
*Mallows and Egrets,* four pictures
*Summer Embankment,* one picture
*Pomegranate Blossoms and Blue Birds,* two pictures
*Mallows and Silver Pheasant,* four pictures
*Flourishing Lotus,* one picture
*Pomegranate Blossoms and Goldfinches,* one picture[19]
*Autumn Pond,* one picture
*White Lotus,* two pictures
*Autumn Islet, Wild Geese Descending,* two pictures
*Autumn Islet,* one picture
*Autumn Islet and Wild Ducks,* two pictures
*Geese on an Islet on an Autumn Evening,* two pictures
*Chinese-Quince and Peacocks,* one picture
*Hibiscus and Mandarin Ducks,* two pictures
*Egrets in Wind and Mist,* two pictures
*Level Sands, Wild Geese Descending,* one picture
*Domestic Geese and Decaying Leaves,* two pictures
*Bamboo and Partridges in Wind,* two pictures
*Bamboo and Wrens in Snow,* one picture
*Winter Grove,* one picture
*Birds in Snow,* two pictures
*Travelers along a Snowy River,* one picture
*Snowy Bamboo against Mountain Verdure,* two pictures
*Snowy Reeds, Wintry Wild Geese,* one picture
*Wild Geese in Snow,* two pictures
*Snowy Bamboo and Willow Catkins,* two pictures
*Bamboo Thicket and Birds in Snow,* four pictures
*Prunus, Bamboo, and Sparrows in Snow,* two pictures[20]
*Bamboo Tips and Prunus Blossom,* one picture
*Bamboo in Snow and Pairs of Birds,* three pictures

*Prunus Blossom and Partridges,* three pictures
*Prunus in Snow, Wintry Wild Geese,* two pictures
*River Prunus, Wild Geese Descending,* two pictures
*Prunus, Bamboo, and Pairs of Birds,* one picture
*Ducks in Snow,* two pictures
*Prunus Blossom against Mountain Verdure,* one picture
*Camellia and Wrens,* one picture
*Prunus and Partridges in Snow,* two pictures
*Hairpin-Top Red Lychee,* one picture
*[Flowers] of the Four Seasons and a Jue with a Golden Rim,* one picture[21]
*Peacocks,* two pictures
*Quail and Sparrow-Hawks,* two pictures
*Wild Geese Descending,* two pictures
*Bamboo and Ducks on the Water,* two pictures
*Purple Mustard and Frolicking Cats,* one picture
*Cat and Kittens Frolicking,* one picture
*Ink-Wash Bamboo in Snow,* one picture
*Lu Pear Tree and Shrikes,* one picture[22]
*Tiger-Skin Red Lychees,* one picture
*Falling Flowers,* two pictures
*Square Red Lychees,* one picture
*Ink Bamboo,* six pictures
*Tortoise and Red Lychees,* one picture
*Pink Lychees,* one picture
*Sweet-Scented Osmanthus, Sketched from Life,* one picture
*Red Persimmons and Lychees,* one picture
*Hortensia and Peacocks,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, and Purple Swallows,* one picture
*Ox-Heart Lychees,* one picture
*Blood Clamshell Lychees,* one picture
*Pearl Lychees,* one picture
*Clove Lychees,* one picture
*The Eleven Luminaries,* fourteen icons
*Heavenly Worthy,* one icon
*Zhenwu,* one icon
*Seven Constellations of the Four Quadrants,* four icons
*Śākyamuni Buddha,* one icon
*Guanyin Sutra,* one image
*Water Moon Guanyin,* one icon
*Guanyin Bodhisattva,* one tableau
*Tao Qian at Home in the Summer,* one picture
Copy of *Xu Shenweng,* one portrait

*Evening Bell at a Temple in Mist,* one picture
*The Jasper Pool,* three pictures[23]
*Herding,* one picture
*A Leisurely Game of Chess in a Waterside Pavilion,* one picture
*Six Horses,* one picture
*Done with Herding,* one picture
*Dragons Playing with a Pearl,* one picture
*Apricot Blossom and Turtledoves,* one picture
*Barbarian Tribes,* two pictures
*Pear-Leaved Crabapple Blossoms and Orioles in Spring,* one picture
*Gardenias and Black-Headed White-Cheek,* one picture[24]

The eunuch official Jia Xiang, whose style name was Cunzhong, was a man of Kaifeng.[25] From his youth he was fond of all manner of crafts, and he gained considerable skill in "the reds-and-blues." Whenever he critiqued a contemporary painter, it would cause him to become famous. When Preserving Harmony Hall was refurbished,[26] the screens were supposed to have color paintings of dragons in water, yet what the staff painters set about to do did not agree with Xiang's concept. When the emperor commanded Xiang to draw them, with a carefree and peaceful expression, he took up the brush to make the dragons, and though he gave it no forethought, soon they were twisting through the azure sky. Their forms and the style were so novel they made viewers' hair stand on end, and everyone admired his skill. He was also good at doing bamboo and rocks, grasses and trees, birds and beasts, and towers and lookouts. People of the time who got his pictures considered them treasures. He was also capable at both carving and modeling images. He reached the official positions of Grand Master for Thorough Attendance and Deputy Commander for the Military and Surveillance Commissioner of the Baokang Army, and he was in charge of the Palace Eunuch Service.[27] He was granted the posthumous title of Junior Preceptor and the posthumous epithet of "Loyal and Good." At present, there are seventeen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Jade-White Lingzhi at Proclaiming Harmony [Hall],* one picture
*Jade-White Lingzhi, Sketched from Life,* one picture
*Buddhist Monastery,* one picture
*Lake Rocks and Black Bamboo,* three pictures
*Strange Rocks, Sketched from Life,* seven pictures
*Mynas in a Wintry Grove,* one picture
*Small Works,* one album

*Frolicking Cats,* one picture
*Ink-Wash Garden Vegetables, Sketched from Life,* one picture

The eunuch official Yue Shixuan had the style name of Dechen.[28] For generations, his people had lived in Xiangfu.[29] In his early years he was unconventional and uninhibited; then, in middle age he took a position in the Eastern Temple to Great Unity. As a result of his daily contact with his friends among the alchemists there, he spent some time in solitary reflection and came to realize the errors of his past, and as a result, he concentrated on the study of literature. Even before he learned to read, he liked to amuse himself with "the reds-and-blues." He particularly loved the paintings of Ai Xuan of Jinling.[30] Seeing that his painting remained meager, even as he understood more about books, he became aware of the distressing constraints in Xuan's painting. When he abandoned that path, his brushwork came to expel that of his elder. He attained an especially lifelike feel in his paintings of flowers and birds, making Ai Xuan's paintings look like something from beneath the Nine Springs.[31] Thus he was praised at the time as the "indigo dye bluer than the indigo plant." In his later years, he was particularly good at ink-wash. Over several pieces of white silk he would paint just a few strands of smartweed and a pair of ducks floating on the dark water, almost like a poetic idea from Du Fu. No court official who saw them failed to offer praise. Shixuan did not lightly show his work to people. Those who wanted a picture had to ask several times before they received one, so they were all treasured as valued objects. Several times he submitted his paintings to the throne, and these were truly the best art objects to come out of the Northern Department.[32] Shixuan was naturally endowed with intelligence and quickness, and later, due to his great achievement at the frontier pass, he was promoted. In the Xining period, Emperor Shenzong considered the Xia slaves disrespectful, so he sent a punitive expedition against them.[33] He ordered Li Xian and others to advance on and attack Lingwu with the troops from five circuits, hoping to succeed with one strike.[34] The emperor issued an edict that said, "If anyone dares to argue for the return of the troops, he will be court-martialed!" Since their soldiers were exhausted and their stores depleted, the generals had been debating withdrawing the troops, but none dared to send in the memorial. Shixuan alone resolutely reported to the commanders' headquarters and requested to ride the post-station horses from the frontier pass. It took him seven days and nights to arrive at the capital to present the memorial. Emperor Shenzong gladly agreed to it. At this time Shixuan merely had the post of Junior Messenger, yet one who dares to risk death and face the emperor to make a request is an official with rare virtue. This reveals how extraordinarily

spirited and forceful he was. This was manifest even in his "reds-and-blues," which was nothing more than a leisure activity. He held the official position of Commissioner of the Palace Workshop in the Western Capital and retired from the posts of Prefect of Qianzhou and Qianzhou Surveillance Commissioner, Commissioned with Special Powers over all military affairs in Qianzhou. He was granted the posthumous position of Junior Guardian. At present, there are forty-one works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Cypress Branches and Orioles,* one picture
*Gingko and Bulbuls,* one picture
*A Flock of Wild Ducks Frolicking in Water,* one picture[35]
*Autumn Embankment, Rushes, and Geese,* one picture
*Autumn Embankment and Ducks,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, and Hoopoes,* one picture
*Prunus, Bamboo, and Birds in Snow,* two pictures
*Peonies and Pigeons,* two pictures
*Golden Chinese Pear-Leaved Crabapples and Partridges,* one picture
*Autumn Pond with a Pair of Birds,* two pictures
*Chrysanthemum Embankment with a Flock of Wild Ducks,* one picture
*Ancient Tree and a Group of Birds,* one picture
*Smartweed Embankment and Ducks,* one picture
*Ducks, Sketched from Life,* three pictures
*Mallows, Sketched from Life,* one picture
*Autumn Pond,* three pictures
*Wagtails,* one picture[36]
*Myna Birds,* one picture
*Sparrows and Bamboo,* two pictures
*Ink-Wash Autumn Embankment,* two pictures
*Ink-Wash Bamboo and Birds,* one picture
*Ink-Wash Pines and Bamboo,* two pictures
*Ink-Wash Wild Magpies,* one picture
*Ink-Wash Waxwings,* one picture[37]
*Ink-Wash Ducks,* four pictures
*Ink-Wash Mountain Verdure,* one picture
*Ink-Wash Various Birds,* one picture
*Ink Bamboo,* one picture

The eunuch official Li Zhengchen has the style name Duanyan. He is fond of studying "the reds-and-blues," and his sketches of flowers, bamboo, and birds are very lifelike. He thoroughly captured their attitudes of

flocking and pecking. He occasionally does bramble thickets with scattered prunus trees, which have the secluded air of a bamboo fence at water's edge. He never does the vulgar [kind of picture] with peach and plum trees [set against] carved balustrades to make a superficially lovely scene; rather, he reveals his own imagination. He holds the post of Commissioner of the Crafts Institute. At present, there are six works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, and Various Birds,* one picture
*Prunus, Bamboo, and Mountain Birds,* one picture
*Quail,* one picture
*Sketches of Various Birds,* two pictures[38]
*Brambles and Sparrows,* one picture

The eunuch official Li Zhongxuan has the style name Xiangxian. He started by specializing in woodcarving, but later he became fond of studying the painting of birds, and he grasped their subtleties. By looking at his *Silkworm Thorn and Sparrows,* in which the sparrows face in all directions and each branch and bird attains the ultimate form-likeness, it is evident why all the painter-artisans of the time admired his work. The fault in his work is its failure to achieve an atmosphere of desolate sparseness. His paintings are rarely seen because his pastime of lodging his mind in pictures of swallows and sparrows is only for his own amusement, not to seek fame. His official post is Palace Servitor in the Palace Domestic Service. At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Wintry Sparrows,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn, Sparrows, and Lake Rocks,* one picture
*Silkworm Thorn Branches and Sparrows,* one picture

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1. Both THJWZ and SCMHP say his native place was Sishui, which is in modern Shandong Province. Sizhou is in modern northeast Xuchi County, Anhui Province. See Soper, *Experiences,* 64, and Lachman, *Evaluations,* 85–86. See also ZGMSJRMCD, 133.

2. The only evidence for this seems to be the site of the anecdote told below. For other citations, see ZGMSJRMCD, 1320.

3. Mi Fu was appointed Erudite in 1105. I have not found a printed source for this anecdote. Other stories of Mi visiting works of art are recorded in Cai, *Tieweishan congtan,* 4.76, 77.

4. This comment is likely derived from Mi Fu's *Huashi,* probably completed around 1101, where he said that Liu Chang's style is pure and elegant, very lifelike, and that

he was better than Zhao Chang or Wang You. See Vandier-Nicolas, *Le Houa-che de Mi Fou,* 71. Deng Chun, *Huaji,* 6.383 repeats this without attribution. See the entry for Zhao Chang in chapter 18.

5. Here I borrow Heping Liu's translation of Dowager Empress Liu's (969–1033) posthumous title. See his "Empress Liu's 'Icon of Maitreya,'" 131. The biography of Liu Yongnian (b. ca. 1031–d. 1070s+) in the Song dynastic history tells these anecdotes from his childhood, but makes no mention of artistic activities. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 463.13551–13552. His style name is given as Junxi by *Song shi* and THJWZ. See Soper, *Experiences,* 44, where it also says he was the nephew of the Dowager Empress.

6. Yue Ren says *neidian chongban* was a military title in Song times (Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 382n2). The two palaces are those of the Empress Dowager and the Emperor.

7. A conventional phrase as a metaphor for an individual shouldering a great burden.

8. Cai Yong (132–192) was said to have invented "flying-white" (*feibai*) calligraphy after seeing a workman use a whitewash brush to write.

9. In Song times, recorded only here and in Cai, *Tieweishan congtan,* 1.6. While Cai also identified Wu as a student of Cui Bai, he remembered Wu as serving in Emperor Huizong's princely mansion and practicing painting with him. See also Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 333–337.

10. This Prince of Wu was Zhao Hao 趙顥 (1050–1096), second son of Emperor Yingzong. See his biography in Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 246.8719–8721. He was the full younger brother of Emperor Shenzong and the older brother of Zhao Jun (1056–1088), who has an entry in chapter 20 as Prince Jun. Hao was known as a bibliophile who loved calligraphy and pictures.

11. The title of Palace Duty Officer of the Right was the fifth highest rank for a eunuch official. See Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 4417. Presumably, the career of Wu Yuanyu began with training in the academy under Cui Bai, after which Wu went to work for Zhao Hao. After Hao's death perhaps, if Cai Tao's account is correct, Wu went to stay as a guest at the princely establishment of Emperor Huizong (see Cai, *Tieweishan congtan,* 1.6). Later, Wu entered the palace again, with the title of Palace Duty Officer of the Right.

12. Xu Shenweng was the Daoist Xu Fu 徐福, who was said to have sent a memorial to the First August Emperor of Qin telling of three isles of immortals in the eastern sea, which caused the emperor to send thousands of young men and women out in boats to seek for the elixir of immortality, never to return. See Ban, *Han shu,* 25 *xia,* 1260.

13. Hailing is Taizhou, modern Tai County, Jiangsu.

14. This reference appears to be anachronistic. Mao Ying 毛盈, as given here, should probably be Mao Ying 茅盈 (b. 145 BCE), the Han-dynasty Daoist alchemist who was considered a Daoist deity and the Patriarch of the Maoshan School of Daoism. His two younger brothers, Mao Gu and Mao Zhong, joined him at Mount Juqu (southwest Jiangsu), also called Mount Mao. See Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth,* 326–328.

15. Presumably this is Liu An (179–122 BCE), King of Huainan and author of *Huainanzi.*

16. As told by Sima Qian, Zhang Liang was strolling over the bridge at Xiapi one day when an old man approached, wearing a short hempen robe. He then threw his shoes off the bridge and demanded that Zhang retrieve them. Although he was surprised by

this demand, Zhang thought that since the man was so old, he should do this for him. When he returned with the shoes, the old man told him to put them on him. After this was done, the old man laughed and walked away. After he had gone a ways, he returned to Zhang and told him he was worthy to be taught. He told the young man to return to the bridge in five days and he would be given something. When Zhang returned, he was given a text the old man said would enable him to instruct rulers and princes. This turned out to be the legendary *Taigong bingfa,* or *Military Methods of Jiang Taigong.* See Sima, *Shiji,* 55.2034–2035.

17. In 1112, this new name was given to the post formerly called Capital Security Commissioner (Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 2833), held by a military officer or eunuch official, who was the head of a secret service agency for the emperor. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 169.4055.

18. *Bingtao* is the doughnut peach, also called *pantao,* or Chinese flat peach (*Prunus persica* var. *platycarpa*).

19. Lit., "golden wing." A common name for Chrysomitris spinus, or goldfinch.

20. Zhou Mi had seen a single scroll with this title, bearing seal impressions of the Mingchang reign-period (1190–1196) of Emperor Zhangzong of the Jin dynasty. See Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 336–337.

21. I have supplied the word "flowers" from the otherwise identical title of a painting by Wu Yuanyu listed in Yang Wangxiu, *Song Zhongxing guange chucang tuhuaji* (1199), *Meishu congshu* 18, ed. Huang Binhong and Deng Shi (1947; Rpt. Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1964–1975), 215.

22. Lu is a place name, in what is now Shaanxi Province. See *Zhongwen dacidian,* 9.40471.

23. Two pictures of this title were recorded by Zhou Mi, in his *Yunyanguoyan xulu,* who said they depicted King Mu and the Queen Mother of the West in her paradise. Zhou said it had seven Xuanhe and Zhenghe seals at front and back, with a title inscription by Huizong. He also noted that *Xuanhe huapu* lists three scrolls, while only two remained. See Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 336.

24. Probably a species of duck or goose.

25. He was in charge of the Calligrapher Service, a department of the Artisans Bureau of the Palace Domestic Service. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 468:13662–13663, and Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 5436. The dynastic history also says he served at Yanfu Palace, along with Tong Guan, appointed by Cai Jing. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 85.2100.

26. Since Preserving Harmony Hall was the new name given to Proclaiming Harmony Hall in 1119, it is possible this is an anachronistic reference to the refurbishment of Proclaiming Harmony Hall that Huizong undertook, which was completed in 1109.

27. In 1112, the office of Palace Visitors Bureau Commissioner was retitled Grand Master for Thorough Attendance (*tongshi dafu*). See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 169.4055. Such a commissioner was a rank 5b eunuch official (Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 4201). The Deputy Commander title was likely a sinecure. The Palace Eunuch Service was a unit of the Palace Domestic Service (see Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* 3080).

28. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1340; Yang, *Song Zhongxing guange chucangji,* reproduced in Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 846. In the dynastic history, he is identified as one of a group of eunuch officials who lived outside the palace and were summoned to court by Emperor Zhezong in 1093. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 321.10424.

29. A county in the Kaifeng area. Most Song-dynasty court eunuchs were from Kaifeng. The five listed in chapter 12, for instance, were from Kaifeng or "the capital area."

30. See the entry for Ai Xuan in chapter 18, where the authors say that only the favor of Emperor Shenzong merits Ai's inclusion in this *Catalogue*.

31. Since the Nine Springs means the underworld, the idea is that his paintings did not look vivid, but dead.

32. Yu Jianhua identifies this as the Palace Domestic Service (Yu, *Xuanhe huapu,* 299n3), while Yue Ren says it should be "Northern Office," an unofficial name for the Palace Domestic Service (Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 392n10).

33. By Xia here is meant the state called Xi Xia (1038–1227) by the Song.

34. The eunuch general Li Xian (ca. 1035–ca. 1086). His biography is in Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 467.13638.

35. A picture with this title was held in the Southern Song imperial collection. See Yang, *Song Zhongxing guange chucangji,* reproduced in Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 846.

36. A picture with this title was owned by Zhao Yuqin (b. ca. 1180s, act. ca. 1238–1240), a descendant of the Song-dynasty founder. See Weitz, *Zhou Mi's Record,* 59.

37. A picture with this title was held in the Southern Song imperial collection. See Yang, *Song Zhongxing guange chucangji,* reproduced in Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 846.

38. A picture with this title was held in the Southern Song imperial collection. See Yang, *Song Zhongxing guange chucangji,* reproduced in Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 846.

# Chapter Twenty

### Prefatory Explanation for Ink Bamboo

In the search for form-likeness in painting, if it is lost when [the artist] gives up the vermilion, yellow, lead white, and clamshell white of "the reds-and-blues," then how can he have understood what was really of value in painting?[1] Brushwork is not an aspect of the painting skills involved in using vermilion, yellow, lead white, and clamshell white. Therefore, when there are [bamboos] painted in light ink, whether upright or leaning, that by not emphasizing form-likeness uniquely attain what is beyond representation, often these are not the product of staff painters but were made by poets and writers. No doubt they had absorbed in their hearts the eight- or nine-hundred-[*li*] expanse of [bamboo] in the Yunmeng marshes.[2] Since they could not describe them in literary works, they had recourse to brush and paper, [depicting them] as rising above the cold to brush the clouds, or standing jade-like as they brave the snow.[3] As they beckon to the moon or whistle in the wind, though it may be a blistering hot day, it makes a person want to put on a padded coat. With regard to the conception of the composition, can [a picture] of scarcely one foot that can still describe ten-thousand *li* be something a common craftsman could achieve? There are only twelve painters of ink bamboo and "small scenes" here, from the Five Dynasties period to this dynasty. From the Five Dynasties period, there is only Li Po. From this dynasty, there are those in the generation of Jun, Prince of Wei, "Upright and Erudite," and the scholar Wen Tong, which shows that those who specially sought form-likeness without the use of color are rare in this

world.

## Ink Bamboo, including Small Scenes

Five Dynasties
    Li Po
Song Dynasty
    Prince Jun, Lingrang, Lingbi, Lady Wang, Li Wei, Liu Mengsong, Wen Tong, Li Shimin, Yan Shian, Liang Shimin, Monk Mengxiu

Li Po 頗 (also written Po 坡) was a man of Nanchang.[4] He was good at painting bamboo, in which the atmosphere and tone had an ethereal buoyancy. He did not seek petty ingenuities, but emphasized appeal. He painted in a strong-willed and forthright manner that gave his works the feeling of life, yet few of them circulated. It was bamboo that men of the past couldn't live a day without, and whenever Ziyou saw bamboo, he would stop to visit, no matter whose house it was.[5] Whenever Yuan Can saw bamboo, he would stop and linger.[6] The Seven Worthies [of the Bamboo Grove] and the Six Transcendents [of Bamboo Stream] made their retreats among bamboo, which is why poets, writers, and lofty scholars all have a sentimental attachment to it.[7] Po practiced no other art, for his mind was set only on bamboo, which shows that what was in his heart was far above the mundane. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Bamboo Thicket*[8]

The prince and emperor's uncle Jun, "Upright and Erudite," was the fourth son of Emperor Yingzong.[9] As a youth he was self-possessed, and as an adult, he was cleverer than others.[10] His natural character was one of loyalty, filiality, and fraternal love. When he lived in the Eastern Palace, in the years of the Xining and Yuanfeng eras, he sent up ten memorials requesting to live outside the palace.[11] Out of regard for the feelings of his other brother, Emperor Shenzong did not permit this. In the beginning of the Yuanyou era, he again firmly made his request, expecting that now it would surely be granted. The two palaces of the Grand Empress Dowager and Emperor Zhezong did not want to go against his wish, so they agreed to his request. This shows his qualities of loyalty,

filiality, and fraternal love were never forced. He was not addicted to pleasures, but only surrounded himself with books and spent time with his brushes. He did large seal, small seal, and flying white scripts, and the brushwork in his large and small characters was heroic and noble.[12] For amusement, he did small works of flowers, bamboo, vegetables, and fruit, and scenes of hard-to-depict subjects, all of them as bright as though before your eyes. He used ink to depict the flourishing tips and firm joints of bamboo, whistling in the wind or dripping with dew, brushing the clouds and filtering the moon, fully exhausting their subtleties. He was also good at shrimp and fish in rushes and aquatic grasses, ancient trees and reedy rivers, with the flavor of the clouds and water at a distant embankment. This is nothing the painter-artisans could grasp by "peeping through the fence." At present, there are seventy works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Leaves of Bamboo Shoots and Flourishing Bamboo,* two pictures
*Small Scene, Leaves of Bamboo Shoots,* one picture
*Silver-Banded Bamboo Shoots,* one picture
*Firm-Jointed Bamboo Shoots,* two pictures
*Cut-Branch Tender Twigs,* one picture
*Cut-Branch Autumn Twigs,* one picture
*Cut-Branch Ancient Bamboo,* one picture
*Flourishing Bamboo,* one picture
*Rushes and Bamboo,* two pictures
*Bitter Bamboo,* one picture
*Ducks at the Foot [of Bamboo] Sketched from Life,* two pictures
*Ink-Wash Bamboo Thicket,* four pictures
*Ink-Wash Flourishing Bamboo,* two pictures
*Ink-Wash Reeds and Bamboo,* two pictures
*Ink-Wash [Birds] Nesting in Bamboo,* two pictures
*Ink-Wash Old Bamboo,* one picture
*Ink-Wash Young Ginger,* one picture
*Ink-Wash Bamboo Shoots,* two pictures
*Ink Bamboo and Orioles,* two pictures
*Small Scene, Ink Bamboo,* two pictures
*Ink Bamboo,* thirty pictures
*Ink Bamboo, Spring Growth,* two pictures
*Cut-Branch Ink Bamboo,* one picture
*Four Views of Ink Bamboo,* one picture
*Ink Bamboo, Spring Growth in Freezing Dew,* one picture
*Ink Bamboo, New Branches Dipped in Blue,* one picture
*Ink Bamboo, Upright Joints in Icy Frost,* one picture

Lingrang of the royal house, whose style name was Danian, was a fifth-generation descendent of the Cultured Ancestor.[13] Lingrang was born and raised in the palace, amid the aristocracy, yet he devoted himself to the classics and histories. For amusement, he dallied with brush and ink and was particularly successful in the skills of "the reds-and-blues." He enjoyed collecting works of calligraphy and painting from the Jin and Song periods onward, so that at a glance he could identify their best features. Although attainment in the arts may be inferior, isn't this better than playing chess or going hunting?[14] In terms of the flavor of his paintings of lakes, marshes, and groves of trees and those of wild ducks and geese in mist and clouds, the feeling of seclusion and repose is obviously the most successful aspect and was much valued by his generation. Even though the scenes he depicted were the slopes and riverbanks just outside the capital city, they seem like the beautiful scenery in the mountain peaks and ranges and rivers, lakes, and streams of Jiang, Zhe, Jing, and Xiang.[15] His paintings were not inferior to those by artists of the Jin and Song dynasties. Once, at the Dragon Boat Festival, he presented a fan he had painted, and Emperor Zhezong wrote on the back of it: "We have seen this, and the brushwork is marvelous." He then wrote out the two characters for "National Eminence" and gave them to him, which was considered an honor at the time. His post was Deputy Military and Surveillance Commissioner for the Chongxin Army, and he had the posthumous position of Commander Unequaled in Honor. He was posthumously enfeoffed as Duke of Rongguo. At present, there are twenty-four works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Ink Bamboo and a Pair of Magpies,* two pictures
*Silkworm Thorn, Bamboo, and a Pair of Birds,* two pictures
*Four Views of Landscape,* four pictures
*Small Scene,* two pictures
*Bamboo in Wind,* one picture
*Streams and Mountains in Spring,* one picture
*Traveling amid Summer Streams,* one picture
*Autumn Embankment and Flock of Wild Ducks,* one picture
*Wintry Sandbank in Dense Snow,* one picture
*Wild Geese Gathered on a Riverbank,* one picture
*Ink-Wash Mynas,* two pictures
*Strange Rocks, Bamboo, and Silkworm Thorn,* two pictures
*River in Snow,* one picture
*Village in Snow,* one picture
*Distant Mountains,* one picture
*Visiting Dai [Kui],* one picture

Lingbi of the royal house is good at painting ink bamboo, and all his works are admirably natural and unrestrained.[16] There are many painters of bamboo, yet few do not pursue form-likeness but fully capture their graceful and wonderful appearance with effortless elegance. Thus, [when painters make bamboos that are] horizontal, leaning, bent, and straight and show each [attitude] from front and back, the brushwork and ink tonalities are all quite obvious in their striving for effect. Others do exposed roots all gnarled and bent, [or plants] snapped by the wind or heavy with rain, and although they wield the brush with playful ingenuity, they are too often constrained by the rules, so the style becomes common and the spirit weak. They never achieve success in naturalism. Only scholars are not this way. As they have no imperative to be skilled at this form-likeness, they can conceive of compositions that are unrestrained and unconventional. Making sparse branches and elegant leaves, not establishing too much at the beginning, their brushes move freely, without any stiffness. Simple brushwork and a complete conception is all that is needed for the elegant charm of bamboo. With common painters, the effort is put into ingenuity, so the meaning never gets expressed, and the more detailed the brushwork, the more confused it becomes. Extraordinary painters put their effort into carefree expression, and so the meaning is always rich. The more abbreviated their brushwork, the more refined it is. These are truly contradictory modes. Since Lingbi took Wen Tong as his guide, he was able to avoid a common style. He was appointed to serve as Defense Commissioner of Hengzhou. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Ink Bamboo*

The wife of Prince Jun, the Prince of Wei, "Upright and Erudite," the Yueguo Consort of Wei, née Wang, had as her ancestors the Secretariat Director Qin Zhengyi and Wang Shenqi.[17] Because they rendered meritorious service in helping the Cultured Ancestor pacify the realm, theirs were made Meritorious Official families, and although a lovely sheltered girl has never been known to continue a family's military glory, thanks to her dignified intelligence and virtuous prudence, the Yueguo Consort of Wei was a worthy successor to that model from antiquity, Great Aunt Cao.[18] Due to the virtue of her famous clan, at sixteen *sui,* Miss Wang was married to the "Upright and Erudite" Prince. Her character was gentle, agreeable, and quiet, and she did not love jewelry or ornaments, but entertained herself each day with books and historical documents, in order to improve her self-restraint along the model of the virtuous women

of antiquity. Her seal and clerical scripts employed the brush methods used since the Han and Jin, while her poetry had the air and tone of [the sound of] a stream running through a grove. She painted bamboo using light ink, and she fully captured their forms, whether upright or leaning. The viewer might think that their shadows had fallen on the silk.[19] If her thoughts were not uncommon, how could she have achieved this? At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Ink Bamboo, Sketched from Life,* two pictures

The imperial son-in-law Li Wei had the style name Gongzhao.[20] His forebears were men of Qiantang, who later came to the capital when, as the family of the Zhongyi Empress Dowager, they had the good fortune to become imperial in-laws.[21] Emperor Renzong called him to appear before him in a side hall. Asked his age, he replied "thirteen." When the emperor asked after his studies, he answered calmly, so he gave him a seat and permitted him to eat. When Wei departed from the palace he expressed his thanks and when later he came to the palace again, his deportment was ceremonious. Renzong considered him special, and he called for his attendants to take the young man to be shown to the empress. Not long afterward, an edict was issued honoring him with the Yanguo Princess.[22] Wei was good at doing ink-wash paintings. Whenever inspiration arose, he would paint, but when it was spent, he threw the paintings away, not wanting other people to know, which is why so few of his works circulated and scholar-officials know nothing of Wei's ability. His whole life he was fond of chanting poetry, and he had talent and a nimble wit. He was also capable at such scripts as draft cursive, flying white, and "*san* clerical," all of which were appreciated by Renzu.[23] It appears his painting style developed out of his flying white calligraphy, which is why he did not use colors but chose to employ ink-wash. He held the posts of Military Commissioner of the Pinghai Army and Acting Grand Preceptor. He was posthumously granted the title of Commander Unequaled in Honor and the epithet of "Cultivated and Respectful." At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Ink-Wash Reed Shoots*
*Lake Rocks*

Liu Mengsong was a man of Jiangnan.[24] He was good at using ink-wash to do flowers and birds, and he created effects of lighter and darker colors by using paler and deeper shades [of ink], so they set each other off. If he had

used colors, it would not have added a thing. He created his own atmosphere and style. He did *Bent Bamboo* pictures that were quite skillful. Since bamboo fundamentally grows straight upward, high bamboos that are tall and straight, warding off the snow and rising above the frost, are simply admirable. Now Mengsong's bent and twisted bamboos did not have this posture. Instances where Creation did not give something its complete form, or where a thing was unable to achieve its full potential through some constraint, or something was born in the wrong place, these are all misfortunes for those things, and they may be used to depict an admonition. At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Magpies in Snow,* two pictures
*Bent Bamboo,* one picture

The civil official Wen Tong, whose style name was Yuke, was a man of Yongtai County, Zitong.[25] He was good at painting ink bamboo, for which he was famous in his day. Generally, in the realm of brush and ink, lodging inspiration in objects is displayed in ink-wash amusements. Once, when he was governor of Yangzhou, he built a pavilion in Yundang Valley, where he enjoyed himself and relaxed morning and evening, which increased his skill at painting bamboo.[26] As the moon set on the solitary pavilion, his elegant bamboo seemed to flutter as though the breeze had moved them. Without having grown up from shoots, they are fully formed, because he had entered [the Way] through his skill. Sometimes he enjoyed doing ancient stumps and old felled trees, done only in light ink. Even a master of "the reds-and-blues" who had the utmost skill could not paint something with this look. If Yuke's skill at painting ink bamboo were not because he possessed such superior natural intelligence as well as "a thousand acres of Wei River bamboo in his breast," how could he have prevailed over such a multitude of other men like this?[27] He held the post of Vice Director of the Bureau of Honors and took office as a Subeditor in the Imperial Archives. At present, there are eleven works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Ink-Wash Bamboo and Sparrows,* two pictures
*Ink Bamboo,* four pictures
*Cut-Branch Ink Bamboo,* one picture
*Sparse Bamboo Growing as a Green Wall,* one picture
*Applied-Color Bamboo,* one picture
*Ancient Tree and Tall Bamboos,* two pictures

The civil official Li Shimin, whose style name was Zhidao, was a man of Chengdu and the younger brother of Shiyong.[28] His calligraphy was about as good as his brother's, and he was particularly skilled at large characters. He could do large characters of over ten feet without any strain. He was also good at archery. Every arrow he shot hit the target, and over the course of a hundred shots, not one missed it. Shimin was a capable official and skilled at "the reds-and-blues," so since calligraphy and painting come from a common source—though with the appearance of the tadpole, large seal, and small seals scripts, calligraphy and painting diverged—it's natural that both Shimin and his brother attained fame in their time for calligraphy and painting. His official title was Gentleman for Court Audiences.[29] At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Poetic Intent*

Yan Shian was a man of Wanqiu, Chenguo.[30] His family had for generations worked as doctors. It was his nature to enjoy making ink-plays, and his scenes of chastetree, catalpa, sour orange, and brambles, or overgrown cliffs and eroded banks were all extremely skillful. He excelled at bamboo, and he completely captured them when the wind has stopped and the skies clear, or in a twilight scene obscured by a fine vapor, or with frosted branches and snow-covered stems, some noble and unsullied, others soft and pliant. Secretariat Director Wang Deyong, who had the posthumous epithet of "Martial and Respectful," loved to collect paintings of flowers and bamboo.[31] Shian did an *Ink Bamboo* and presented it to him. As soon as Deyong saw it, he could not stop exclaiming over its beauty, and he considered it the best in his treasure chest. He sent a memorial to have him made an instructor in the Directorate of Education's School of the Four Gates.[32] Later students often took his pictures as models. At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Ink Bamboo,* one picture
*Cut-Branch Ink Bamboo,* one picture

The military official Liang Shimin 師閔 (also written 士閔), whose style name is Xunde, is a man of the capital, who was appointed to fill a vacancy in the Right Section by hereditary privilege.[33] His father He taught Shimin poetry and calligraphy, so Shimin has a fairly good understanding of their main points. He was capable at poetry

composition, and later, because he loved to study poetry and calligraphy, his father told him to study "the reds-and-blues." As soon as he began, it was as though he was already practiced at it. He excels at flowers, bamboo, birds, and other creatures. He learned the painting methods of the men of Jiangnan. His work is detailed without being careless and serious without being too free. Since he mainly kept to their rules and methods, his flaws are few, but as his painting came from his father's order rather than coming from what he had internalized, it was produced by formula and could not escape the constraints of being produced by formula. Generally, those who are constrained can still become free, while those who are already free cannot become constrained. In the main, Shimin's painting is still on the rise and is sure to become free. At present he serves as Left Military Grand Master[34] and, as Prefect of Zhongzhou, is in charge of the Chongfu Temple in the Western Capital.[35] At present, there are two works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Fresh Clearing over a Willow Stream,* one picture
*Riverbank with Reeds in Dense Snow,* one picture[36]

Monk Mengxiu was a man of Jiangnan.[37] He liked to send for and host painters of exceptional technical skill, and when he got a good painting from one, he would always pay him the highest price. He studied Tang Xiya's paintings of flowers, bamboos, and birds and fully captured these creatures' attitudes in mist, clouds, wind, and snow. This probably resulted because he had spent his whole life appraising these models. At present, there are twenty-nine works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Bamboo in Wind,* fourteen pictures
*Bamboo Shoots,* seven pictures
*Bamboo Thicket,* six pictures
*Bamboo in Snow,* one picture
*Bamboo in Snow and a Pair of Birds,* one picture

## Prefatory Explanation for Vegetables and Fruit

Watering garden plots and learning vegetable gardening, these are what the ancients asked about.[38] The "chives of early [spring] and the cabbages of late [autumn]," as well as "pear-leaved crabapples and green

plums," have been passed on by literary men, and hence it is only suitable that vegetables and fruits have appeared in "the reds-and-blues."[39]

Yet skill at sketching vegetables and fruits from life is most difficult to achieve. Critics consider vegetables out in the wilds easier to master than vegetables at the water's edge and vegetables at the water's edge easier than vegetables in gardens and fields. Fruit that has fallen to the ground is considered easier to master than fruit on a cut branch, while fruit on a cut branch is easier than fruit on the tree. Now this is a truly profound insight for investigating the level of a painter's skill. Further, what about the duckwood and artemisia used in sacrifices and the cherries offered to rulers?[40] In those cases, would painters simply be amusing themselves with vermilion and lead white? Poets know much about the nature of grasses and trees, insects and fishes, so when painters forcibly lay hold of Creation and their imaginations penetrate its mysteries, this is also the work of poets. Such things as grasses and insects are frequently seen in the metaphors and allusions of poets, which is why they have been included here. From the Chen dynasty to this dynasty, there are only six men here whose names have been transmitted and whose paintings are extant. In Chen, there was Gu Yewang, in the Five Dynasties period there was Tang Gai, and in this dynasty there was the group including Guo Yuanfang and the Buddhist monk Juning. Others whose pictures have been handed down are detailed [elsewhere] in this *Catalogue.* Though Xu Xi excelled at cicadas and butterflies, connoisseurs thought of Xi as good at depicting flowers, so even though he also excelled in other categories of subject matter, he is not listed here, too.[41] Others such as Hou Wenqing, monk Shouxian, and Tan Hong all gained fame from painting grasses, insects, and melons.[42] For his skill, Wenqing was made a Painter-in-attendance, but with Gu Yewang at the front and monk Juning at the end, Wenqing and Shouxian could not fit between them in the correct order, which is why this *Catalogue* does not record them.

## Vegetables and Fruit, including Medicinal Plants,[43] and Grasses and Insects

Chen
    Gu Yewang
Five Dynasties
    Tang Gai, Ding Qian
Song Dynasty

Guo Yuanfang, Li Yanzhi, Monk Juning

Gu Yewang, whose style name was Xifeng, was a man of Wujun.[44] At seven *sui* he had read the Five Classics, and by nine *sui* he was good at literary composition; he understood everything about astronomy and geography, and he excelled at painting. He served as a Capital Commandant under the Liang dynasty, and later, when the Prince of Xuancheng was serving as Prefect of Yangzhou, Yewang and Wang Bao of Langye were both his advisors. Since Yewang was good at painting pictures, the prince ordered Yewang to make a painting of ancient worthies and Wang Bao to transcribe an encomium. People of the time referred to this as "The Two Perfections." He was especially skilled at painting grasses and insects. Since he knew so much about the nature of grasses, trees, insects, and fishes, which is the business of poets, painting was Yewang's silent poetry.[45] He served the Chen dynasty as Director of the Chancellery. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Grasses and Insects*

The hometown of Tang Gai is unknown.[46] He was good at painting birds, fish, and growing vegetables, and he was praised for his skill in his day. Fish, insects, and plants are very minute and subtle. Were it not for his profound understanding of living things, expressed and shown in his depictions, they would be difficult to comprehend. His pictures of wild birds, growing vegetables, fish and shrimp, and aquatic creatures circulated in the world. With regard to paintings of fish and shrimp, they may be shown as creatures in rivers and ponds or on the table in a kitchen, but paintings of aquatic creatures are rarely seen. What if they were strange and powerful creatures that on occasion agitated fierce winds and violent thunder as they smashed through ten-thousand *li* of waves, never swimming in mid-stream where their horns could be bent or they might strike their foreheads?[47] A painting of that would be impressive, indeed! Gai's paintings of aquatic creatures probably had this quality. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Growing Vegetables*

Ding Qian was a man of Jinling.[48] At first he worked at bamboo painting, but later he also became good at painting fruits and vegetables, applying his colors in light and dark shades to make them lifelike. He could imitate

weevils and their damage, which made people try to brush them off, as if they were real. He once painted a picture of onions, for which he was praised and encouraged by Li of Jiangnan, who personally wrote the two characters for "Ding Qian" on it, probably because he considered it such an extraordinary painting. Later, Kou Zhun collected it as a treasured piece.[49] At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Lotus and Lotus Roots, Sketched from Life,* one picture
*Onions, Sketched from Life,* two pictures

The military official Guo Yuanfang, whose style name was Zizheng, was a man of the capital.[50] He was good at painting grasses and insects, in which he could lodge his inspiration with ease, and the way he showed them crawling, flying, chirping, and jumping was completely lifelike. He was much appreciated by officials of his day. When he employed casual brushwork, which was abbreviated and simple, he achieved the height of refinement, but whenever he sought ingenuity through embellishment, everything he added only did harm. This is truly what [Zhuangzi] called "when the external is prized, the inner becomes awkward," as when one is betting for gold [in an archery contest].[51] A critic used this to slight him.[52] Generally, the scheme of Creation gives no thought at the start to an integrated whole, but as each thing assumes its own shape and color, each has what is appropriate. But if you chisel and polish one thing after another to make each lovely, how can you achieve something complete and integrated? Therefore, though the carving of the mulberry may be skillful, if it takes three years to make a single leaf, the gentleman finds it unacceptable.[53] How can art not be immediate, but come close to nature by degrees? Yuanfang had the official position of Palace Courier.[54] At present, there are three works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Grasses and Insects,* three pictures

The military official Li Yanzhi was good at painting insects, fish, grasses, and trees, with the elegant overtones of the poet.[55] Sketching from life was his special skill, and he never fell into the bad habits of the staff painters of recent times. When depicting birds flying or beasts walking, they must be shown in pairs, in order to give each thing the appeal appropriate to its nature. He reached the official position of Palace Eunuch of the Left Duty Group.[56] At present, there are sixteen works kept in the palace storehouses:

*Grasses and Insects, Sketched from Life,* ten pictures
*Cut-Branch Flowers, Sketched from Life,* one picture
*Fish Swimming beneath Fruiting Crabapple,* one picture[57]
*Pair of Cranes,* one picture
*Pair of Roebucks,* one picture
*Pair of Crabs,* one picture
*Chirping [of Insects],* one picture

Monk Juning was a man of Piling.[58] He was fond of drinking wine, and when he had drunk to his heart's content, he liked to amuse himself with ink. Though the brush force in his paintings of grasses and insects was strong and vigorous, he did not particularly seek form-likeness. He signed each picture: "Painted by Juning while tipsy." After seeing his work, Mei Yaochen appreciated his extraordinary quality and wrote a poem for him, in which is this line:

Little insects create interest in the roots of the grass;
the tipsy ink-painter is actually quite practiced.

After this, Juning's reputation increased considerably, and art lovers who get one of his pictures consider it a treasure. At present, there is one work kept in the palace storehouses:

*Grasses and Insects,* one picture

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1. A similar sentiment is expressed in an appreciation of a picture called *Ink Bamboo* by Huang Quan, written by Li Zonge (965–1013), the Hanlin Academician, for a painting owned by Su Yijian (958–996); Li's text is recorded in SCMHP. See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 80–81.

2. From Sima Xiangru, "Sir Fantasy," in Burton Watson, trans., *Chinese Rhyme-Prose: Poems in the Fu Form from the Han and Six Dynasties Periods* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

3. Liu Daochun wrote that images of bamboo in snow conveyed the idea of "bearing the cold." See Lachman, *Evaluations,* 85.

4. See ZGMSJRMCD, 400; Soper, *Experiences,* 31.

5. Referring to two anecdotes in *Shishuo xinyu* about Wang Huizhi (d. 388). See Mather, *A New Account of Tales of the World,* 388 (XXIII.46) and 398 (XXIV.16).

6. Yuan Can (420–477) was a Grand Councilor under the Liu Song dynasty. For this episode, see his biography in Li, *Nan shi,* 26.704.

7. For the Seven Worthies, see Mather, *A New Account of Tales of the World,* 371–376. For the Six Transcendents, see the Lu Huang entry in chapter 3.

8. Li Kan (1245–1320) said, in his treatise on bamboo, that a friend had given him

this picture, which he called "a former Xuanhe object." See *Zhupu xianglu,* reproduced in Chen, *Sui Tang huajia shiliao,* 307.

9. Zhao Jun lived from 1056 to 1088. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1297; Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 246.8721–8722; Wang, *Dongdu shilüe, Wenyuange Siku Quanshu* Electronic Edition, vol. 382, 16.9a–b; Soper, *Experiences,* 42, under "Prince CHIA."

10. This quality was attributed to his brother Hao in the dynastic history. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 246.8720.

11. According to the dynastic history, the one who sent the memorials was his brother Hao. In the Yuanyou era, they were allowed to live outside the palace, in the Xianyi ward, in mansions opposite each other, where their nephew, Emperor Zhezong, visited frequently. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 246.8720.

12. Zhao Jun is one of the three people, including Li Yu and Guanxiu, who are also treated in *Xuanhe shupu.* See Gui, *Xuanhe shupu,* 3.37–38.

13. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1274; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 408–422. Zhao Lingrang (act. ca. 1070–d. ca. 1101) is listed in the register of the royal family in Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 223.6487, as a descendant of Zhao Defang (951–981), the fourth son of Emperor Taizu, the "Cultured Ancestor."

14. This seems borrowed from Zhang Yanyuan's rhetorical question, "What has this [i.e., looking at paintings] in common with the mental activity required for chess?" From "On the Origins of Painting," in Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 1:78.

15. The general area of modern Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Hubei, and Hunan provinces.

16. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1274. Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 222.6403 and 244.8684, where it says he was alive during the Xuanhe era. He was a descendant of Zhao Defang, the fourth son of Emperor Taizu.

17. See ZGMSJRMCD, 65, under nee Wang (Wangshi). It is not clear if she was alive at the time of writing or not.

18. This is Ban Zhao (45–ca. 115), the litterateur, who assisted her brother, Ban Gu, in the writing of *Han shu.*

19. An allusion to the legend of the invention of "ink bamboo" by a certain Lady Li, an artist who traced the moonlight shadows of bamboo on the paper of her windows. See Tang Souyu (act. 19th c.), *Yutai hua shi,* in *Huashi congshu,* Yu Anlan, ed., v. 5 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu chubanshe, 1963), 2:11.

20. See ZGMSJRMCD, 393.

21. The empress, nee Li (987–1032), was the birth mother of Emperor Renzong.

22. For the princess (1038–1070), see Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 248.8776–8777.

23. Yue Ren says "*san* clerical" means using a *sanzhuo* 散卓 brush to write clerical script (Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 405n5). *Sanzhuo* brushes were made by the Zhuge family of Xuanzhou in Song times and admired by many, including Su Shi, Huang Tingjian, and Cai Tao. See *Zhongwen dacidian* 13567.67 and Cai, *Tieweishan congtan,* 5.94–95.

24. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1327; Lachman, *Evaluations,* 88–89; Soper, *Experiences,* 63.

25. For Wen (1018–1079), see ZGMSJRMCD, 35; Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 443.13101–13102; Wang, *Dongdu shilüe,* 115.13b–14a; Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 358–383; Soper, *Experiences,* 45.

26. This information is not found in the dynastic records concerning Wen Tong or in THJWZ, only in Su Shi's "Record of Wen Tong's Painting, *Bent Bamboos of Yundang.*" Reproduced in Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 366–367.

27. This phrase in single quotes is a paraphrase of a poetic line by Su Shi in his "Record of Wen Tong's Painting, *Bent Bamboos of Yundang.*" Reproduced in Chen, *Song, Liao, Jin huajia shiliao,* 367.

28. Shiyong's entry is in chapter 12. It is not clear if Shimin was living at the time of writing. See ZGMSJRMCD, 376.

29. This is a prestige title, not a post. See Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* 318.

30. See ZGMSJRMCD, 1438; Soper, *Experiences,* 67; and Lachman, *Evaluations,* 87–89, the source for this entry.

31. Wang (987–1065) was a high official and a patron of the arts. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 278.18.

32. Hucker says this school for the sons of lesser nobles and officials existed only nominally in the Song. See Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 5719.

33. See ZGMSJRMCD, 909. For Right Section, see Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 8091.

34. In 1112, the title Commissioner for the Palace Audience Gate of the East (Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 7450) was changed to this title. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 169.4055.

35. Zhongzhou was a prefecture controlled by the Song government through local native leaders, on the border of modern Guangxi Province and Vietnam. Since no Chinese official would be sent to fill this position, it was clearly a sinecure. Supervision of the Chongfu Temple was also a sinecure, granted to many, including Sima Guang, as something akin to a pension. See Murck, "The 'Eight Views of Xiao-Xiang' and the Northern Song Culture of Exile," 119.

36. A painting in ink and light colors on silk, called *Riverbank with Reeds in Dense Snow,* now in the Beijing Palace Museum, not only has the title and the signature, "your servitor, Liang Shimin," at the end, but it also has a title slip at the beginning, with Liang's name and the title of the painting written out in the distinctive "slender-gold" script. For a color reproduction, see Richard Edwards, *The Heart of Ma Yuan: The Search for a Southern Song Aesthetic* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011), pl. 8. Ebrey notes that it bears an impression of a seal reading "Daguan" (*Accumulating Culture,* 389).

37. ZGMSJRMCD, 1251, has two entries for Mengxiu, one as a man of Tang, the other as a man of Song, probably because Li Kan (1245–1320), in his *Zhupu,* says Mengxiu was a man of Tang. In his *Huashi,* Mi Fu does not seem to accord his painting the respect he would give to a Tang picture. See Vandier-Nicholas, *Le Houa-che de Mi Fou,* 117. Moreover, there is no evidence for ink bamboo as a topic in Tang times.

38. See the "Explanation of the Headings" for the story from *Zhuangzi,* ch. 12, about the old man lugging a pitcher (Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 134), and Fan Chi requesting of Confucius to learn vegetable gardening (Huang, trans., *Analects,* 133).

39. In a well-known exchange recorded in the biography of Zhou Yong (ca. 473), the Heir Apparent Xiao Changmao (458–493) asked him, "Which vegetables have the best flavor?" Yong replied, "At the beginning of spring, the early chives; at the end of autumn, the late cabbages." See Xiao Zixian (489–537), *Nan Qi shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972), 41.732. The words "pear-leaved crabapples and green plums" were taken as the title of a well-known letter by Wang Xizhi and much used afterward by poets. The letter is recorded in *Xuanhe shupu,* in Wang Xizhi's entry in ch. 15 (Gui, ed., *Xuanhe shupu,* 285). A poem by Su Shi contains the lines: "Once when the Three Institutes was sunning its calligraphy, to protect it from insects,/I chanced to see *Crabapples and Green Plums*." Amended slightly from Egan, *The Problem of Beauty,* 207.

40. Cherries were offered as tribute to the Tang emperors, as attested by poems by

Han Yu and Du Fu. See Egan, *The Problem of Beauty,* 96.

41. This is in contrast to the organization of Liu Daochun's SCMHP, in which several artists are listed in more than one category of painting. Xu Xi's entry in chapter 17 of this *Catalogue* says "he often roamed about in his vegetable garden," and there are four pictures of vegetables listed.

42. On Hou Wenqing (act. ca. 1070s), see the entry in Soper, *Experiences,* 66– 67. Monk Shouxian is unknown. According to Yu Jianhua, Tan Hong (act. ca. late 10th c.) 譚宏 should be 鐔宏; see ZGMSJRMCD, 1530; Soper, *Experiences,* 64.

43. The term I translate here as "medicinal plants" is *yaopin,* which should mean "medical drugs." I chose "medicinal plants" in order to agree with the larger category of fruits and vegetables, even though there are no paintings listed here of either medicinal plants or medicines, unless one views onions or lotuses as medicinal.

44. For Gu (519–581), see ZGMSJRMCD, 1542; Chen, *Liuchao huajia shiliao,* 295–299; Li Yanshou (act. 7th c.), *Nan shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shu, 1975), 69.1688; Yao Silian (557–637), *Chen shu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972), 30.399; LDMHJ, ch. 8; LDMHJQY, 406–407; Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts,* 2:187.

45. He knew about "the names of birds, beasts, grasses and trees" because Confucius said this was one value of studying the *Book of Songs.* See Huang, trans., *Analects,* 168.

46. See ZGMSJRMCD, 664; Soper, *Experiences,* 31.

47. "Striking the forehead" seems to be a reference to the description of the *zhan* fish in the *Shui jing* by Li Daoyuan (d. 527), who says this fish goes upstream to become a dragon. If it fails, it strikes its forehead (against a stone wall) and returns. See Yue, *Xuanhe huapu,* 416n6.

48. See ZGMSJRMCD, 8; Liu, *Wudai minghua buyi,* 110; Soper, *Experiences,* 38.

49. Kou Zhun (961–1023) was an eminent official and military general. See Toghto et al., *Song shi,* 281.9527–9535. Guo Ruoxu said this picture was currently (ca. 1080) owned by Wang Shen. See Soper, *Experiences,* 38.

50. See ZGMSJRMCD, 948; Soper, *Experiences,* 45–46.

51. See Watson, trans., *Complete Works of Chuang Tzu,* 201.

52. The critic was Guo Ruoxu, whose entry on Guo is the basis for this entry. See Soper, *Experiences,* 45–46.

53. The "Illustrations of Laozi's Teaching" (Yu Lao) chapter of *Han Feizi* tells of a man who carved some mulberry branches from ivory that could not be told from the real thing, for which he was rewarded, but when Liezi heard about it, he responded by saying, "If you do not follow the course of reason and principle but learn from the wisdom of one man, it is the same as to make a single leaf in three years." See W.K. Liao, trans., *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu,* 2 vols. (London: A. Probsthain, 1959), 1:220.

54. According to Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 4264, one who held this post was "likely a member of the eunuch-staffed Palace Domestic Service."

55. See ZGMSJRMCD, 361.

56. Hucker, *Dictionary of Official Titles,* no. 6982.

57. Wang Anshi wrote a poem describing branches of "golden sand" blossoms (crabapple) hanging over a pond. See Wang, *Wang Linchuan quanji,* 26.141.

58. Monk Juning was active in the 1050s. See ZGMSJRMCD, 513; Soper, *Experiences,* 67, the source for this entry.

# List of Abbreviations

LDMHJ
: Zhang Yanyuan (ca. 815–ca. 875). *Lidai minghua ji.* In Cheng Zai, trans., *Lidai minghua ji quanyi.* Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 2009.

LDMHJQY
: Cheng Zai, trans. *Lidai minghua ji quanyi.* Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 2009.

SCMHP
: Liu Daochun (ca. 1028–ca. 1094). *Songchao minghua ping.* In Yun Gao, ed., *Songren huaping,* 2–104. Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 1999.

TCMHL
: Zhu Jingxuan (mid-9th c.). *Tangchao minghua lu.* In He Zhiming and Pan Yungao, eds., *Tang Wudai hualun,* 75–115. Changsha: Hunan meishu chubanshe, 1997.

THJWZ
: Guo Ruoxu (ca. 1040–ca. 1090). *Tuhua jianwen zhi.* In Mi Tianshui, ed., *Tuhua jianwen zhi, Huaji,* 1–258. Changsha: Hunan meishu, 2000.

ZGMSJRMCD
: Yu Jianhua (1895–1979). *Zhongguo meishujia renming cidian.* Revised edition. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin meishu, 1987.

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